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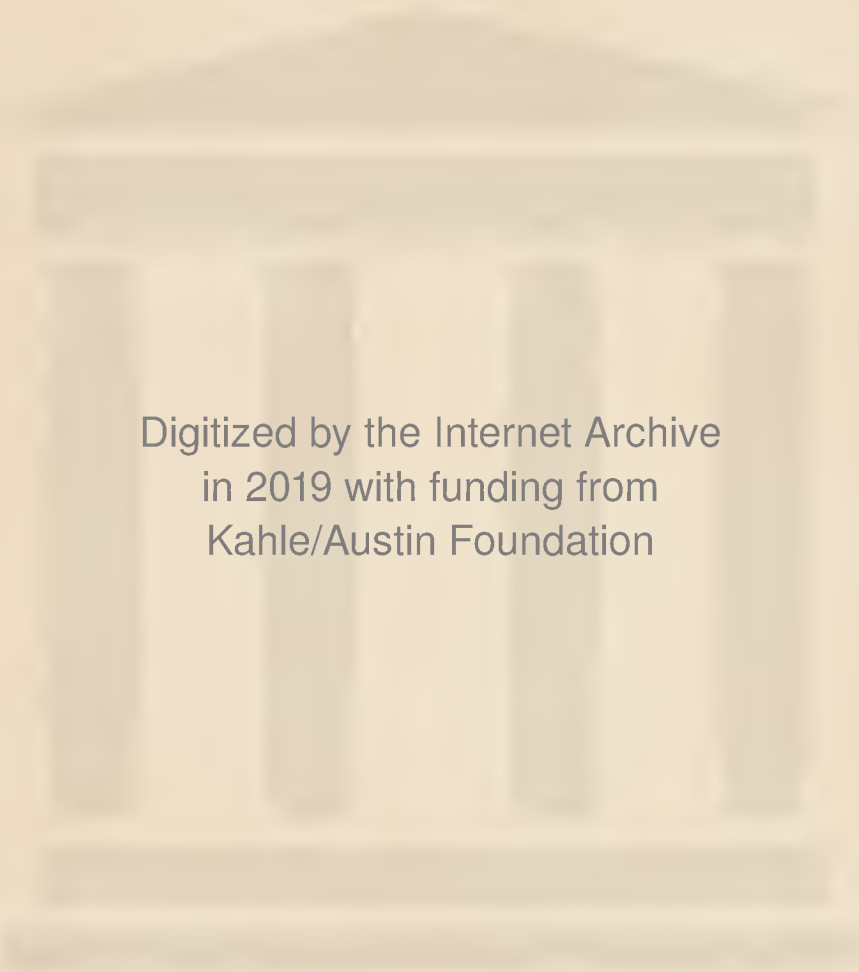

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THE CHARTERHOUSE OF LONDON

THOMAS SUTTON.

From a mezzotint after the painting in the possession of Charterhouse.

THE

CHARTERHOUSE *of* LONDON

MONASTERY, PALACE, AND THOMAS SUTTON'S FOUNDATION

BY

WILLIAM F. TAYLOR

ILLUSTRATED
WITH PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIES
BY THE AUTHOR

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

My friend, Mr Alfred Gough, has given me much valuable assistance in the preparation of this book. The translations from the narrative of Maurice Chauncy are his work, and he has also read the whole of the proof sheets and made many suggestions.

The student of the story of the Charterhouse must always acknowledge his debt to those who have preceded him. In particular, the writer has availed himself of the researches of Bearcroft, Malcolm, and Smythe. Among modern works that of Dom Lawrence Hendriks is valuable and trustworthy, and the same can be said, of course, of such portions of Dr Gairdner's recent work as deal with our subject. The volumes of the "Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII." have been often referred to. Some of the documents epitomised therein are printed in this book for the first time *in extenso* (see pages 55, 56, 57, 93-5, 125, 139, 143-5).

The indexes of these volumes cannot be trusted implicitly. Many letters are calendered in the wrong year, most of which, however, have been since rightly placed by Dr Gairdner and Dom Hendriks. Also in more than one instance a Charterhouse has been referred in the index to the London house when it is one of the provincial houses. The references to the principal documents quoted in this book from the Letters and Papers are given in the index.

The photographs reproduced were taken, some last year and some in previous years, but Charterhouse does not change, and they represent Sutton's Hospital of to-day.

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My sincere thanks are due to the Master for permission to take them.

I must thank my wife for much time and great care spent in helping me.

P.S.—Since passing the body of this book for the press I have revisited Charterhouse and seen for the first time the scholarly pamphlet now sold in the porter's lodge. This is the work of the present Master. I have an insatiable appetite for topographical literature, and, if I may be allowed to say so, this is a model of what topography should be. It was rather startling to me to see the similarity of title. I hope it will be believed that it was innocent mimicry on my part. For my own selfish reasons I could wish that I had seen the pamphlet earlier. There are in it interesting new facts, especially details of the earlier building operations of the monastery. According to the Master's reading of the buildings the chapel of the monastery was confined to the part of the existing chapel which is east of the present screen, both monks and lay brothers worshipping there, though in partitioned compartments. If this were so, then the prolongation of the old building west of the tower, which does seem to have existed, may have been the chapel of St Anne, referred to in the pamphlet, which is said to have been erected for the accommodation of women coming to hear Mass.

ERRATA

Page 18, line 10.—For " Bishop Ralph " read " Bishop Michael."
Page 64, line 18.—For " John Tynbygh " read " William Tynbygh."

Among the books which have been consulted are the following :—

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PREFACE

WITHIN a very few minutes' walk of the centre of London life, and immediately surrounded by some of its busiest warehouses and markets, is a cluster of buildings which make up, perhaps, the least changeful spot of all the metropolis. Here, looking into the trees of Charterhouse Square, stand the old walls of Charterhouse. We think of it now as closely beset with the many mile deep growth of greater London, but it was once the " Charterhouse beside London." When the Black Death slew its thousands, charitable people bought fields just outside the walls of medieval London to give consecrated burial to the dead. On one of these plague graveyards was founded a Carthusian monastery, and many of the walls and much of the ground plan of this " Charterhouse beside London " remain till to-day. For a hundred and sixty years this community of monks, belonging to the most mystical of all orders, continued its quiet life. Then came the rule of Henry the Eighth, and in the trial of their faith the Carthusians of London gained for their convent a splendid memory of bravery and sincerity. The strongest efforts of the King, Cromwell, and the conforming clergy were concentrated on the Charterhouse, but these were only successful after years of resistance, and by the power of repeated slaughter. Sixteen of the convent are remembered by the Roman Catholic Church as martyrs for the faith.

After the monks had been expelled the Charterhouse became a palace for certain of the Tudor nobles. First Sir Edward North, then the Duke of Northumberland, and

then again North were its owners. When it passed into the hands of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, it became the residence of the greatest noble in England, and he decorated and added to it in a style worthy of his rank. As he made it, so is the Charterhouse in the main to-day. It represents more nearly than any other building in London the Elizabethan palace. Norfolk was led into the paths of plotting, and the Charterhouse became his prison. After his death others of his family lived there, till in 1611, Thomas Sutton, a great merchant, bought the building to found there the charity which has just celebrated its three hundredth anniversary. Where the monks had prayed, and Norfolk had plotted, the old men and the boys of Sutton's new foundation of Charterhouse remained quietly in possession for generations. The boys have now migrated to the country, and at Godalming, in Surrey, Charterhouse school has grown to be one of the greatest of public schools, but the Poor Brethren still remain in the old courts and halls. It is the story of this piece of London which this book sets out to tell.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF LONDON

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDERS OF THE CHARTERHOUSE

London, in the fourteenth century, has been described in a modern poet's words as "London, small, and white, and clean." It was indeed small, and it was known as "the White City," and it may even have been cleaner internally than is often admitted. But though small to our eyes, London, like England generally, had in the early years of the fourteenth century reached a prosperity and a population which it was not to surpass till Tudor times. The country from its insular position had been able to avoid the disturbances and desolations of the more frequent warfare of continental Europe.

But it was not to escape that greatest scourge of all, the plague, which now invaded western civilisation for the first time. This was to be a constant visitor to England till the seventeenth century, and to Europe till the eighteenth. The death-rate from it was the main cause why the population of England remained stationary for two centuries after its appearance. The first epidemic was the worst, and the severity of its onset, as well as the nature of the symptoms, earned for it the special title of "The Black Death." Never has the mortality from disease been so great in England, though the wild statements of contemporary chroniclers that not one man in ten remained alive must be discounted. Froissart is nearer

the mark with the proportion of one death to every three people throughout Christendom. The most likely estimate is that during the worst period the deaths in London were 200 per week, and for the whole period of the visitation 20,000 out of a population of about 50,000. In 1362 and 1369 there were fresh epidemics almost as terrible as the first. The disease first appeared at a Dorsetshire port in the summer of 1348, and by the autumn it was well established in London. From November to the following Whitsuntide the mortality remained high. The small parish churchyards rapidly filled, and the pious were faced with the horror of burials taking place in unconsecrated ground. To prevent this, one John Corey, a clerk, purchased a " toft of land " near the Tower of London, and obtained its consecration as an extra graveyard, and on the north-west of the city the Bishop of London himself bought a field near Clerkenwell for the same purpose. A little later a knight, Sir Walter de Manny, purchased for a similar use a further piece of land, which adjoined the bishop's field. The London Charterhouse was founded in connection with the two last graveyards. The foundation of this monastery is most probably due to the requirement of Christian charity that these burial grounds, unconnected with any parish church, should have their chapels for the ministration of priests for the souls of those buried there.

There were three people concerned in the steps which led to this foundation, and their exact connection is obscure, though they all contributed. There is first in time, though least in importance, Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London during the Black Death and till 1354; then Michael de Northburgh, his successor, who died in 1361; and the gallant warrior, Sir Walter de Manny, and of these three it will be interesting to get some idea apart from the present connection.

Ralph, whose surname, perhaps, was Hatton, was named

after his native town of Stratford-on-Avon. He possibly owed his introduction to the court, and his subsequent rise in the church, to the influence of his kinsman, John de Stratford. This John, probably the uncle of Ralph, was the principal adviser of Edward the Third for the ten years after the overthrow of Mortimer, and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1333. Nothing very special is recorded of the younger de Stratford. He was Bishop of London from 1340 till his death in 1354.

His successor, Michael de Northburgh, also rose to his high ecclesiastical position through the royal service. This is, indeed, typical of the prelate of the period. The appointments were in the hands of the king, and he made his promotions from among his own staff of "clerks," clerics whose abilities had been proved in the conduct of the secular powers of the kingdom. The result was a bench of shrewd men of business, engaged both in their diocesan work and the king's diplomacy and conduct of the realm. Their contemporary detractors picked out as their characteristic their worldliness. William de Wykeham is typical of their dual activities; he became in one month Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England. The mob of the Peasants' Rising, a little later than our time, might have said, in words like those of William the Conqueror when arresting Odo of Bayeau, that in murdering Archbishop Sudbury they were not slaying the sacrosanct Archbishop of Canterbury, but were executing judgment on the secular Chancellor of England. Bishops Ralph and Michael, however, cannot have been unmindful of their spiritual functions, and the latter especially, as is shown by his action towards the foundation of a Carthusian monastery, the most apart from the world of all the orders.

De Northburgh, in his secular rôle, often accompanied the military expeditions to France, or was sent on important commissions of negotiations with that country,

or Flanders. He is in one place described as "a worthy clerk, and one of the king's counsellors," and his letters describing two of the French campaigns, preserved in the original French, are of historical value. He probably became known to Sir Walter de Manny whilst on these campaigns, and we know that they were both present at the Siege of Calais. The bishop died during the return of the plague in 1361, and was buried in his cathedral church. In his will he left money for the Charterhouse foundation, and also for a foundation more typical of his period, that is, a chantry chapel where prayers could be said for his own soul. Also he left one thousand marks to be kept in a chest in St Paul's, and out of which a poor man might, on sufficient security being given, borrow £10, or a dean, canon, nobleman or citizen might take £20. Even the temporarily embarrassed Bishop of London was provided for; he might dip in the chest to the extent of £40.

We know much more of the third name connected with the Charterhouse foundation, and this is the one perhaps most intimately concerned with it, certainly so in common report. Sir Walter de Manny, or Mauny, as his native country of Hainault spelt it, was one of the most brilliant of the knights of that Round Table about which King Edward the Third hoped to revive the glories of King Arthur's time, and besides his own merits, he had the good fortune to be by birth a near neighbour of the great chronicler of the chivalry of this period.

Froissart, the chronicler, was born in the town of Valenciennes in Hainault, and Sir Walter was of the family of the lords of Manny near by. It is possible, therefore, that Froissart followed the deeds of his neighbour with greater interest than he would otherwise have done, and gave an extra polish to the mirror which he held up to the chivalrous daring of his time, when it was to reflect the actions of his countryman. He himself

The Passage from Wash-House Court.

says, "Mon livre est moult renlumine de ses prouesses." Possibly Froissart may not be the strictest historical authority, but the picture he gives is so magnificently painted that we instinctively go to him for the colour of the times. And it is also permissible to quote him in the racy translation into Tudor English by Lord Berners.

The young Walter de Manny first came to England, as Froissart also did later on, because of the marriage of the young princess of his own province, Hainault, to the English king. When Philippa after her marriage settled in England, one named "Wandelet de Manny, aboode styll with the quene, and was her karver, and after dyd so many great prowesses in dyverse places, that it were harde to make mencion of them all." This was in 1327, and the youth was, according to custom, carrying out his apprenticeship in chivalry by thus serving his royal mistress at table. He was knighted in 1331, and by 1332, according to Froissart, he had already distinguished himself in the Scotch wars. He is "a hardy knight," doing many deeds of arms. He was soon made admiral of the fleet north of the Thames, but little is known of his naval exploits.

At the outbreak of the war with France, young de Manny, inspired by the bright eyes of women, seems to have taken some special vow to break the first lance in the quarrel. He was with the king at Malines, but "in the first weke that the Frenche kyng was thus defyed, sir Walter Manny, assone as he knewe it, he gate to him a 40 spears, and rode through Brabant, nyght and day, tyll he came into Heynault, and entered into the woode of Blaton, as than nat knowing what he shulde do; but he had shewed to some of them that were most privyest about hym, howe he had promysed before ladyes and damoselles, or he came out of England that he wolde be the first that shulde entre into France, and to gete other towne or castell, or to do some dedes of armes." He carried out

the latter part of his vow by attacking at sunrise the town of Mortaigne, though not successfully, and completely fulfilled it by capturing directly afterwards the castle of Thun l'Eveque.

Sir Walter was at the battle of Sluys, and Froissart says distinguished himself there beyond all others. But perhaps the most picturesque exploits of the knight's life are connected with the expedition that went, under his leadership, to the rescue of the Countess Joan of Montfort, that heroic woman, " with the heart of a woman and of a lion," who was closely beset in the Breton town of Hennebont by the French forces, under Charles of Blois. The Countess was holding council as to the necessity of surrender when she " looked downe along the see, out of a wyndo in the castell, and began to smyle for great joy that she had to se the socours commynge, the which she had so long desyred. Than she cryed out aloude, and sayed twyse, I see the socours of Englande commyng. Than they of the towne ran to the walles, and sawe a nombre of shyppes great and small, fresshly decked, commyng towards Hanybont." It was Sir Walter de Manny with his knights and three thousand archers of the best, who had by contrary winds been kept sixty days on the sea. The enemy outside now made great efforts to reduce the town, and reared up against the walls the greatest engines that they had, which never ceased to cast their stones, whilst the Countess decked out the halls to feast and welcome the new arrivals.

" All night and the nexte daye also, the ingens never ceased to cast : and after dyner sir Gaultier of Manny, who was chefe of that company, demanded of the state of the towne, and of the hoost without, and sayde, I have a great desyre to yssue out, and to breake downe this great ingen that standeth so nere us, if any will folowe me. Than sir Perse of Tribyquidy sayde, howe he wolde nat fayle hym at this his first begynning, and so said the lorde

of Landreman. Than they armed them, and so they yssued out prively at a certaine gate, and with them a three hundred archers, and slewe dyverse of them that fledde, and bete down the great engyn, and brake it all to pieces. Thane they ranne in among the tentes, and logynges, and set fyre in dyverse places and slewe and hurt dyvers till the hooste began to styre ; than they withdrew fayre and easily and they of the hooste ranne after them lyke madde men. Than sir Gaultier sayd, Let me never be beloved with my lady, without I have a course with one of these folowers, and therwith turned his spere in the rest. . . . They ran at the first comers : there might well a ben legges sene turned upwarde. . . . Than the countesse discendyded down fro the castell with a gladde chere, and came and kyst sir Gaultier de Manny and hys companyons one after another, two or three tymes, like a valyant lady."

Sir Walter had richly deserved his knightly reward by the raising of the siege of Hennebon, but he had many deeds of valour to do in besieging other Breton towns still in the hands of the French. He fought what Froissart calls the " Felde of Camperle," though this fight in the neighbourhood of Quimperlé was almost a piece of naval warfare. The French, under Louis of Spain, had landed here from their fleet and " brent all the country about," when de Manny, having showed his mind to the quaintly named Percy of Tribyquidy and others, sailed to find them, and captured their ships. Having obtained the mastery of the sea, the English landed to seek the foe and engaged in battle, when " Thenglysshe archers shotte so holly together, that the Genevoyes and Spanyardes wer dyscomforted, and all slayne, for they of the countrey fell in with staves and stones " ; which was a most unchivalrous proceeding, but not so bad as the deed of a French knight, who ought to have known better, and who shocks the sensitive etiquette of Froissart. For a little later on, coming through " a fayre medowe by a wood syde,

he founde certayne Englyshemen and others, lyeng there hurt. He sette on them, and toke them prisoners, and led them to Fanet hurt as they were." Sir Walter hurried to the rescue, but the castle was too strong, and he seems to have been a prudent leader, as on the approach of stronger forces he retired towards Hennebont. But on the way they came to a castle called "Goney la Forest." "Than sir Gaultier sayde howe he wolde go no farther, as sore trayvelled as he was, tyll he had made an assaute to that castle, to see the demeanynge of those within. . . . sir Gaultier dyd so moche, that part of the dyke was fylled with bushes and wood so that they came to the walles with Pyckaxes, and other instruments, and anone made a great hole through the wall, and there they entered perforce, and slewe all they found within." Possibly Sir Walter remembered those of "Castell Goney la Forest" when he left provision in his will for prayers to be said for the numerous company of souls that he had sent before him out of the world.

So chivalry went on its way the next day to Hennebont, "and when the countesse knewe of their commynge, she came and mette them and kyssed and made them great chere, and caused all the noble men to dyne with her in the castell."

De Manny was able to do little more definite than these dashing expeditions towards regaining Brittany for the de Montforts, for the main body of the French, under Charles of Blois, now came up and erected against the towne "a fytene or sixtene great engyns, the which caste into the towne many a great stone, but they within set nat moch therby: . . . ." We now hear more of the prisoners at Fanet, for Louis of France, caitiff knight that he was, ordered two of them to be brought to him in order that he might strike off their heads before the walls of Hennebont. But de Manny by a ruse dashed into the

camp and rescued them from the tent where they were imprisoned.

And so the story of Froissart goes on with tales of combats, assaults and gallant deeds, and we can draw from it a good picture of the part Sir Walter de Manny played in the great tragi-comedy of chivalry. The chronicler would ascribe much of the success of the campaigns in Gascony in 1345 to de Manny. Also, if we are to trust this perhaps too partial writer, he was placed by King Edward in charge of the operations at the famous siege of Calais, with the Earl of Warwick under his orders. But another contemporary chronicler does not give him this high office. Froissart even gives him an honourable part in the mediations that turned into a more generous course the first angry intentions of the king to slay the garrison on surrender—that famous episode in which Queen Philippa pleaded for the citizens. Sir Walter's part came before. He was sent to treat with the town on the terms that they should all render up themselves to the king's absolute power. But the captain of Calais replied, "We shall yet endure asmoche payne as ever knyghtes dyd rather thanne consent that the worst ladde in the towne shulde have any more yvell than the grettest of us all. . . . sir Gaultier de Manny and sir Basset retourned to the kynge and declared to hym all that hadde been sayde. The kynge sayde he wolde none otherwise but that they shulde yelde theyme up symply to his pleasure. Than sir Gaultier sayde, Sir, saving your displeasure in this, ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall gyve by this an yvell ensample; if ye send any of us your servants into any fortresse we woll nat be very gladde to go if ye putte any of theyme in the town to dethe after they be yelded, for in lykewise they woll deale with us if the case fell lyke." Other of the lords pleaded also, and the king yielded thus far as to accept six burgesses on whom to wreak his wrath. These delivered themselves to de Manny, the captain;

saying, "Gentyll knyght I require you pray the kyng to have mercy on theym, that they dye nat. Quoth sir Gaultier, I can nat say what the kyng wyll do, but I shall do for them, the best I can." And he kept his word, for when the king commanded that their heads should be struck off, "Then spoke sir Gaultier of Manny and sayd, A noble kyng, for Goddes sake refrayne your courage; ye have the name of soverayne noblesse, therefore nowe do nat a thyng that shulde blemysshe your renome, nor to give cause to some to speak of your villany; every man woll say it is a great cruelty to put to deth such honest persons, who of their owne willes putte themselfe into your grace to save their company. Than the kyng wryed away fro hym, and commanded to send for the hangman, and sayed, They of Calys had caused many of my men to be slayne, wherefore these shall dye in lykewise. Than the quene, beynge great with chylde, kneled downe and sore wepyng," made that final appeal which prevailed, the king yielding, though ungraciously, to pardon the six burgesses.

In 1349 it was discovered that a plot was in progress to recover Calais by treachery on the last night of the year, and Edward and his son, the Black Prince, determined to cross over from England secretly, and be present in disguise to frustrate the attempt. Once more Froissart gives his countryman an honourable position, for he writes, "Thane the kyng sayde to sir Gaultier de Manny, I woll that you be cheife of this enterprise, for I and my sonne woll fyght under your banner." This fight, it may be mentioned, showed Edward in a more generous spirit than on his previous visit to Calais. In the *mêlée* he fought with a French knight, Eustace of Ribemont, was beaten twice to his knees, but conquered in the end. That evening, when feasting his noble prisoners, the king sought out this knight, "and joyously to hym he said, ye are the knyght in the world that I have sene most valyant assayle

his enemyes and defend hymselfe, nor I never founde knyght that ever gave me so moche ado, body to body as ye have done this day. . . . Sir Eustace, I gyve you this chapelet for the best doar in armes in this journey past of either party ; and I desyre you to bere it this year for the love of me. I knowe well ye to be fresshe and amorouse among ladyes and damoselles ; say wheresoever ye come, that I dyd gyve it you." Truly Eustace of Ribemont, knight, received very different treatment from the King of England, than did Eustace of Saint-Pierre, burgess of the town of Calais, but the king had not, in the earlier case, so happy a chance to extol his own prowess in war and love.

Clearly Sir Walter de Manny, after allowing for some partiality on Froissart's part, was one of the ablest, bravest, and most honourable of the soldiers of his time, and on September the first, 1359, he was made a knight of the newly-established Order of the Garter, and presented with "a grisell palfrey" by the Black Prince. Next year we find him leading some new knights to "skyrmyshe at the barriers of Parys." In a later year he is offering sounder advice than this mere ebullition of fighting spirit would suggest, and the neglect of it by the Duke of Lancaster made a lost opportunity for the English army, and "Sir Gaultier of Manny had great honoure of his opinion before."

Not only did he serve his king as a soldier, but he also acted for him in many negotiations and councils, and he seems besides to have been not a bad business man, as he was able to lend money to the great people. In 1362, Margaret, Countess of Hainault, pays him back nineteen thousand golden florins. He left, however, to his executors the perhaps ticklish task of recovering an old debt from King Edward, and also from the Prince of Wales the arrears of his salary as governor of Hadleigh.

He died full of years and glory on the Thursday after the

Feast of St Hilary, 1372, and he was buried in the chapel of his new foundation of the London Charterhouse. The king and many nobles attended his funeral. He was unfortunate in his family, his only son coming to the unromantic end of drowning in a well at Deptford. De Manny had married royal blood, his wife being the daughter and heir of Thomas, second son of Edward the First. This lady, surviving Sir Walter, succeeded to her father's title of Countess-Marshal of Norfolk. De Manny's only surviving legitimate child was his daughter, Anne, married to the Earl of Pembroke, but he left bequests to two illegitimate daughters, Mailosel and Malpleasant, both of which had taken the veil. To his sister, also a nun, he left £10. To Margaret, his wife, went all his silver vessels, his girdle of gold, and all his other girdles and his knives, his beds with their rich canopies, excepting his folding bed in "blue and gold," perhaps the companion of his campaigns, which was left to his daughter. His testamentary directions as to the Carthusian foundation will be spoken of later.

These, then, are the three men, especially the last two, who are concerned in the foundation of the London house for Carthusian monks.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION

When, during the Black Death, Bishop Ralph de Stratford desired to dedicate land as an extra graveyard for the burial of those that the ordinary parochial yards were already too crowded to receive, he acquired from the Knights Hospitallers of the Priory of St John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, a plot of three acres, called, "No Man's Land," which was described as adjoining further lands of the same Priory on the one side, and lands belonging to the Abbot of Westminster on the other.

At that time there were practically no buildings outside the walls of London on this its north-west side, save three great monasteries, all of which had already reached a respectable antiquity, for their foundations dated back to the early years of the twelfth century. It was scarcely safe for other buildings to be beyond the shelter of the city; save such sacred institutions, or a great noble's palace, like those which lined the Thames towards Westminster. The wall of London, coming north from the Thames bank, almost on the line of the present Old Bailey, turned east as it reached the open space of Smithfield, then as now the great cattle market. Overlooking Smithfield from the east, and outside the wall, was the powerful Augustinian priory of St Bartholomew, and of this monastery the gateway still remains facing Smithfield, as well as a massive fragment of the monks' church behind. Close beside the monastery was the connected hospital, which still carries on its work on the old site. On either side of St Bartholomew's, roads led northwards, one on the east,

issuing from Aldersgate and forming the more direct road to Islington, and thence to St Albans, and that on the west leading to the other two religious houses, which stood close beside each other at Clerkenwell. The one nearer to London was the more important of the two, and was to be the more closely connected with the future Carthusian foundation, its near neighbour. It was the chief English house of the Knights Hospitallers of St John, a very important body specially devoted to charitable purposes. The road from Smithfield (the present St John's Street follows the old course) skirted the east wall of the priory, and went on a few yards farther to the nunnery of St James, the site of the chapel of which is now occupied by the eighteenth-century church of St James at Clerkenwell. Beyond Clerkenwell the road continued across the fields to the pleasant village of Islington. A Londoner of the fourteenth century, standing on the north-west bastion on his city's wall, looked out on almost completely open country, excepting for the already venerable buildings that have been described. What he saw could be described in the words written two centuries before this by William Fitzstephen in the preface to the Life of his beloved master, Thomas à Becket. Describing London, he says, "Also there are on the north side Fields for pasture and a delightful plain of meadow Land, interspersed with flowing streams, on which stand mills, whose clack is very pleasing to the ear. Very near lies a great forest, with woodland pastures, coverts of wild animals, stags, fallow deer, boars and wild bulls. The tilled grounds of the city are not of barren gravel but fat plains of Asia, that grow rich crops, and fill the farmers' barns with the sheaves of Ceres. There are also about London, on the north side, excellent springs, with sweet, clear and refreshing water, flowing rippling over bright stones; among which Holy Well, Clerkenwell, and St Clements are held to be of most note; these are frequented by

greater numbers and visited more by scholars and youths of the city in summer evenings, when they walk forth to take the air."

So that when, in whatever season, the fourteenth-century young man turned to his appropriate thoughts, we may imagine him resorting to this side of London in particular, and issuing in force from Aldersgate, and past the fields soon to be occupied by the Charterhouse. But more serious matter of recreation was connected with these springs. John Stow, the antiquary, tells us that the spring of Clerkenwell took " its name of the parish clerks in London, who of old time were accustomed there yearly to assemble, and to play some large history of Holy Scripture. And for example of later time, to wit, in the year 1390, the 14th of Richard 2, I read, the parish clerks of London, on the 18th of July, played interludes at Skinners Well, near unto Clerkes' Well, which play continued three days together; the king, queen, and nobles being present. Also in the year 1409, the 10th of Henry 4, they played a play at the Skinners Well, which lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of the world. There were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles of England."

The connection of the district round Clerkenwell and Islington with springs and recreations, the latter of a very varied sort, continued into the nineteenth century; indeed " Sadlers Wells " is still a name which spells amusement to a section of the London people, though the " turns " now performed there are of certainly shorter length and more secular matter than the " large histories " of fourteenth-century Skinners Well; neither is the fact that water can be obtained there of so vital importance.

The first land, then, acquired for the plague burials was the three acres of " No Man's Land," bought by Bishop Ralph at the time of the first and greatest epidemic, that of 1348 and 1349. This seems to have been a narrow

strip of land stretching between the two roads which went north from the city. Probably the modern street of Clerkenwell Road was cut along this land in its course from Goswell Road to St John's Street, the present names of the two old tracks through the fields. Its title must have referred to an earlier age, as it now definitely belonged to the Knights of St John, and the west end of the land was only separated by a road from the wall of that monastery. The bishop provided for the souls of those buried there by building a chapel called Pardon Chapel, and the graveyard became known as Pardon Churchyard. Ralph de Stratford had no part in the foundation of the London house for Carthusians, but this land apparently became part of their holding, though according to a grant quoted by Malcolm in his "Londinium Redivivum," it would seem to have reverted to the knights, for they grant, in 1514, to Edmonds Travers, "the custody and keeping of our chapel called the Pardon Chapel."

It would seem that, closely following Bishop Ralph's purchase, Sir Walter de Manny acquired for a like purpose a further piece of land lying more to the south. It was a field described as "outside the bars of West Smithfield," and belonging to the hospital of St Bartholomew, and thence called "le Spittle Croft," or Hospital Field, and was thirteen acres and a rood in extent. As was done in the case of the bishop's foundation, a chapel was erected, and the land became known as "New Church Hawe," or the Close of the New Church. The present Charterhouse Square is pointed out as the centre of this land and site of the chapel. According to de Manny's charters, 50,000 people were buried in this graveyard, and though this figure is undoubtedly an exaggeration, the number must have been very large. A stone cross was erected with an inscription which Stow records as having read himself. He gives the Latin, a translation of which is as follows :—

"A great Plague raging in the year of our Lord 1349,

Looking towards the Tower of the Chapel from the Square.

this Church-yard was consecrated, wherein, and within the bounds of the present monastery, were buried more than fifty thousand bodies of the dead: besides many others, from thence to the present time: on whose souls God have mercy. Amen."

The chapel in New Church Haw was dedicated to the honour of the Festival of the Annunciation, as the Carthusian house was to be later on, and we now hear of the intention to found a monastic house, though not yet of this order. Some time during the three years after the purchase of the land in 1349, De Manny signified to the Pope that he was applying to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for authority to found a college for twelve chaplains, or Capellani (keepers of holy relics), under a warden, and to endow it with three benefices, the value of which was not to exceed one hundred pounds a year.

No definite steps toward this foundation seem to have been made; indeed, the next thing we hear is that De Manny has parted with the land, and apparently surrendered his idea. When Bishop Michael de Northburgh made his will in March 1361, he left the large sum of £2000, "to found, build, and complete, as soon as my executors are able, a certain house of the order of the Carthusians according to the rite and manner of the same order, in the place called Newechurche-hawe, where there is a church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which place together with the patronage of the same I have acquired from Sir Walter Manny, Knight."

This is the first mention of the Carthusian Order, and it is therefore, according to this will, to Bishop Michael that the inspiration is due; but it is possible that he was co-operating with De Manny. The bishop makes other provisions for his scheme in his will.

He gave to the endowment all his leases, rents, and tenements in the City of London, and the convent when

finished was to have his two best silver basins for the service of the altar ; a silver and enamelled pyx for the Host, a silver vessel for holy water, and a silver bell ; his two best vestments for the officiating monks, and all his divinity books.

There are still ten years to pass before the actual foundation, and when the silence of this period is past, it is broken in a most perplexing manner by the royal licence to Sir Walter to proceed to the foundation, a licence in which there is no mention of Bishop Ralph, either as founder or as joint-founder. Neither is there any such reference in the charter, the definite document of foundation, dated March 28th, 1371, in which De Manny speaks throughout as the sole originator. Only the twelve chaplains of De Manny's original proposal, and the twelve monks of Bishop Michael's, have grown to the twenty-four monks of the final foundation, which would suggest that it is a merging of the two men's work which has taken place. This view is supported by the papal charter which followed later, and in which the two names are explicitly given as joint-founders.

The charter of incorporation, signed in March 1371, speaks as follows :—

" Since there was lately a pestilence so great and violent in the city of London that the graveyards of the parish churches of the aforesaid city were insufficient for the burial of persons dying of the same pestilence ; being moved by piety and having regard to the danger and loss which at such time has happened because there was not hallowed burial for the aforesaid dead, and considering the need of piety on this account, of our special devotion we have acquired thirteen acres and a rood of land without the bar of West Smithfield of the same city in a place called ' le Spittle Croft ' but now called ' le Newe Cherch Hawe ' for the burial of the aforesaid persons, and we have caused the same place to be hallowed by the venerable fatherRalph

then bishop of the same city, in the which place more than 50,000 persons dying of the same plague have been buried, and afterwards for the devotion which we had to God and His sweetest Mother the Blessed Virgin Mary, and especially at the feast of the Annunciation of the same blessed Lady Mother and Virgin, on which feast was the beginning of the restitution of joys which had been lost by the transgression of our first parents, we have caused to be built in the same place a chapel in honour of God and of the said feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary Mother and Virgin.

"And because we desire that according to our ordinance devout prayers and divine services according to the form following may perpetually be made and continued in the same place, and that above all other religions we have a special devotion for the holy religion of the Order of the Carthusians; therefore know ye that for the reverence and honour of God and of His most holy Mother and Virgin Mary and for the devotion which we have for the said feast of the Annunciation, and for the affection too which we bear to the aforesaid holy religion, we by these our presents found and make a house of monks of the same Order in the place aforesaid which we call and will to be called in future the Salutation of the Mother of God in honour and perpetual memory of the blessed Feast aforesaid."

The charter proceeds to appoint John Luscote as first Prior, and defines the land of the gift, that is the Newe Churche Hawe, and also a further piece of three acres lying to the north of this, and outside its walls. This is probably Pardon Churchyard, and the mention of walls suggests that the site had been enclosed; indeed, the buildings of the monastery must have been advancing towards completion by this time.

The concluding passages ask for prayers for the souls of the founder's family, and for the Bishops of London

for the time being, and especially for Bishop Michael de Northburgh, and for all whose bodies lie in the said land, and for the souls of all the faithful. The witnesses of this charter were the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln, the Earls of Pembroke, Hereford, March, and Salisbury, and the Mayor of London with the sheriffs, and one of these was William de Walworth, destined to wield the famous dagger against the person of Wat Tyler ten years later.

As has been said, there is no mention in this charter of incorporation of Bishop Michael de Northburgh as being in any way connected with the foundation, an omission which it is difficult to explain. Probably the papal charter which followed gives the real state of the affair. It is dated in the first year of the pontificate of Urban the Sixth, that is 1378. It refers to the permission obtained by De Manny from the preceding pope, Clement the Sixth, for the realisation of his original idea, the college for twelve seculars, and then proceeds to give what is probably the final word as to the events leading to the ultimate foundation: "Michael Episcopus Londiniensis, et idem miles, prædicto Collegio nondum instituto, Conventum duplicem Monachorum Ordinis Cartusiensis in loco prædicto, mutato proposito dicti militis, fundaverunt."

That is: Michael the bishop, and Sir Walter the knight, the college of the latter not being yet established, have joined together to found a double convent for Carthusians in the same place, the intention of the knight having been changed.

Though nothing certain is known, it is probable that building operations had been going on for some time, and the monastery approaching completion by the time of De Manny's charter, because before that time the new monastery had been received into the Order at the Annual General Chapter held at the Grande Chartreuse in the spring of 1370. At the same chapter, John Luscote

The Old Passages of Charterhouse.

Prior of another Carthusian house in England, that of Hinton, appeared and requested permission to lay down his high offices. He also, as Provincial Visitor to all the English houses, held the highest position in the Order in that country. The chapter did not grant him rest from his responsibilities, for they appointed him to take charge of the new house outside London. As this was not completely ready, he took the interim title of Rector, that is, the superior of any house where for some reason or other the entire rule cannot be observed. Within a year his title was changed to Prior, and the Charterhouse of the Salutation of Our Lady, near London, entered into its generations of devotional life.

As will be seen later, when the time of the trial of the principle of monasticism in England came, it was the Carthusian body, courageously led by the London monks, which alone stood firm for the mediæval ideals of the Catholic Church. It is then noteworthy that this brave and consistent monastery only came into being when the signs of reaction against the principles it represented were already expressing themselves. The Black Death has been awarded in popular history an importance as to its effects, second to none among events. Whether what followed it is so entirely due to the event itself can be disputed, but without doubt the date does make a convenient full stop to the pure mediæval period. It is difficult to feel this as one reads the gallant deeds of knights as recorded by Froissart, but it was the crest of chivalry, and the wave was curling to its fall. In religious matters the first questioning of the soundness of the fabric and doctrine of the Catholic Church was being heard, and this both from the secular and religious points of view. In 1351, the Statute of Provisors, and, two years later, the Statute of Præmunire, aimed at the limitation of the power of the Pope over the English Church. Much that the last prior of the Charterhouse was to gain his

martyrdom by refusing to admit was already the law of England before the first prior had been elected. But it has been said that the mediæval law was often only the enunciation of an ideal, and it cannot be said that these in particular were carried out. The papal ascendancy was too firmly rooted in the fourteenth century to be eradicated by enactment. However, Henry the Eighth made their enforcement the first shot in his policy of divorce from Rome. The government screwed up its courage to save its own pocket by refusing, in 1366, to pay Peter's Pence. No more tribute to Rome was paid, and a man who was to proceed much farther than this, in his renunciation of its ideas, John Wycliffe, was called on to write a defence of the Parliament's position. The first note of the religious protest against monasticism that was to triumph in the sixteenth century had come from Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1357, and Wycliffe, taking up the same position, rapidly went from denial of one Catholic tenet to another, till he finally attacked transubstantiation and the sacerdotal power that is founded on it. The influence of Lollardy which came from him may be said to have been existent in England till its victory in the Reformation.

It was indeed late for a new monastic foundation. The general satire of the writer of the period against the monk is marked, and satire is generally an exaggeration of sound criticism. William of Wykeham was to draw the plan for the new type of foundations by his rules for his Winchester School in 1373, and for New College, Oxford, in 1375. Wykeham was an opponent of Wycliffe, but he wished to fight an intellectual movement by intellectual weapons. His ideals were to form the basis of many future foundations, and were the adaptation of the monastic plan to a different use. Institutions such as his were to be more typical of the times to come. Or, on the more ecclesiastical side, there was more inclination to

found a chantry chapel than a monastery. From 1400 to the Dissolution period, only eight houses of religion were founded, whilst in the same period seventy houses of learning or charity were endowed. Monastic life was out of touch with the national life. But this decline does not seem to have been shared by the Carthusian Order. The austerity of their rule, and the purity with which they maintained it, may have been recognised. Out of the nine houses of this Order existing at the time of the Dissolution, four had been incorporated after the London house, these including the largest of the English houses, that at Sheen, founded on such a magnificent scale by King Henry the Fifth.

The Black Death, terrible sign of Heaven's judgment that it seemed, was in itself the cause of monastic foundations. Its tremendous impact on the people had slackened the bands of morality, and the survivors plunged into dissipation and luxury. A toxin had been produced in the social body, and the thoughtful may have wished to stimulate the anti-toxin by the prayers and example going up to heaven, although from behind walls, from that most austere and religious of monk, the Carthusian. Some such intention, beside the provision for the souls of those buried in the plague pits, may have been in the minds of the founders of the Charterhouse. The tendency to a religious extreme may also be seen in the appearance of the Flagellants, flogging themselves twice daily through the streets as penance for the world's sins.

Such was England at the birth of the monastery of the Salutation of the Mother of God, torn by the ravages of the plague and with already working in it the leaven of the upheaval that two centuries later was to shatter the mediæval ideal for which the Carthusian has always stood more strongly than any other body.

CHAPTER III

CARTHUSIA NUNQUAM REFORMATA SED NUNQUAM DEFORMATA

About the year 1030 there was born at Cologne, of a noble family, a man who came to be known as Bruno the Frenchman. At the University of Rheims he became a famous scholar, and he there rose to be director of the schools. But secular success did not satisfy him, and in the prime of his life he, with six companions, journeyed to the holy Bishop of Grenoble, St Hugh, and begged from him permission to dwell in some desert place. The bishop welcomed them as the fulfilment of a vision of the previous night, in which seven stars falling to his feet had been seen by him to take their way over the mountains to a lonely spot. Thus, according to the legend, by a miraculous intervention was Bruno led to the mountain height which gave its name to the community of La Grande Chartreuse, the mother house of the Carthusian Order. The manner of the life the Order started here has varied little from that time to this day. A few years after the foundation, Peter the Venerable, writing from his comparatively luxurious and worldly position of Abbot of Cluny, said: "They live in separate little houses like the ancient monks of Egypt, and occupy themselves continually with reading, prayer, and the labours of their hands, especially the writing of books. They always eat bread of unbolted meal, and take so much water with their wine that it has hardly any flavour of wine left. They never eat meat, whether in health or ill. They never buy fish, but they accept it if it is given to them."

The account of Peter the Venerable would hold good for the description of the modern Carthusian, save that some mitigation of the diet has been allowed. No other monastic Order has had so uneventful and consistent a history. There has been, with them, no sudden rise to favour and riches as with the Cistercians in the twelfth, or the Friars in the thirteenth century, followed by alternations of stagnation, decline, or revival. The ideals of the founder have been kept with much greater purity, the Carthusians being perhaps helped to this by that extreme austerity of rule which has prevented any large accession to their Order. At the time of the Dissolution, there were in England only about one hundred members, distributed over nine houses. It has had, however, greater expansion in its native country of France. On the other hand, though it had no meteoric rise, it continued to grow after the close of the chief period of monastic expansion : five out of the nine English houses were founded after 1350.

The life of a Carthusian monk is almost that of a hermit. He leaves his solitude only for the performance of the offices of Matins, Mass, and Evensong, and lives for the rest of his time in his cell. He speaks to no one, and only meets, in silence, his fellow-recluses in the chapel services, except for two brief periods in the week—one common meal and one common walk. Beyond this he is a hermit.

The Sunday walk or " Spatiamentum," however, is an excellent one, and lasts about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The relaxations of the weekly communal walk and meal are no modern innovations, but follow an early and wise regulation to secure the balance of the mind for its solitary life.

They are not fanatics, the Carthusians ; they know that a certain relaxation of the silent cell-life is necessary for balance, and they therefore take a good walk on Sunday, even as the daily meal is an excellent one of soup, fish, or

eggs, vegetables, cheese, fruit, with a little wine or thin beer. The Chartreuse allows its liqueur to appear on the table. Once a week, however, it is bread and water only for dinner.

The monk starts his day at an hour when many of his fellow-men have not yet started their sleep. At eleven in the night, having slept from seven o'clock, he is roused by the convent bell, and at midnight the monks meet for matins in the chapel. The performance of this service at this hour is one of the rigours of the Order, and apparently the zealous Carthusian guards as a tradition that, in order to emphasise the strain of this nightly service, it should be sung as slowly as the nerves of the participants can stand. On this matter Dom Lawrence Hendriks, a modern Carthusian, has said: "The fatigue of this nocturnal service is considerable, and the slower the singing proceeds, the greater the tax upon both physical and mental power. At London the chanting, at least in the sixteenth century, was very slow." The Carthusian rubric says it is the duty of a good monk rather to lament than to sing, so the services are to be sung as if lamentation, not joy, was in their hearts. The midnight office is sung in general darkness, save for the sanctuary lamps, the monks reading by the light of carefully shaded lanterns. This night office lasts till two o'clock or even later, and the monks then return to bed again, after some private prayer. Rising at five, they are occupied till ten with more spiritual exercises, including the Mass. It is noteworthy, as showing the unchanging character of Carthusian life and ritual, that this is still celebrated in the liturgy of the eleventh century, though for the Church in general it has been changed. In like manner, the Carthusian to-day recites, though in his cell, the prayer for the restitution of the Holy Land to Christendom, a practice which carries us into the midst of mediæval

religion. The obligation to include it in the Mass, dating from 1215, was long ago removed from the Church in general, but the Carthusian, consistent in his mediævalism, more orthodox than the Pope himself, would seem to give a gentle rebuke to the latter by this recital in solitude.

The time from ten to half-past two is given to dinner and such private work as the monk desires. The great characteristic of the Carthusian in this respect is still, as it was noted by Peter the Venerable, the inclination to intellectual work. Beyond this, there is the little garden attached to each cell, supplemented by such labour as is compatible with the rule of solitude. Some will work at the carpenter's bench or the lathe. Once more they meet, to sing Vespers, and by seven they are asleep.

It is the life of contemplation and mysticism carried to the utmost. The Carthusian's aim, as stated by a modern member of the Order, is to begin on earth the life of contemplation, love, and praise of God that they look forward to as the sum of the heavenly life to follow. "God then, God alone, God sought by the most direct road" is what the Carthusian seeks in his cell. There have never been many Carthusians, but the Order has a noble record of pure and steady faith in its ideal.

There is in Froude's history a passage in which that writer describes the simplicity and unchanged primitiveness of the Carthusian life. "St Bede or St Cuthbert might have found himself in the house of the London Carthusians, and he would have had few questions to ask, and no duties to learn or to unlearn. The form of the buildings would have seemed more elaborate; the notes of the organ would have added richer solemnity to the services; but the salient features of the scene would have been all familiar. He would have lived in a cell of the same shape, he would have thought the same thoughts, spoken the same words in the same language. The

prayers, the daily life, almost the very faces with which he was surrounded, would have seemed all unaltered. A thousand years of the world's history had rolled by, and these lonely islands of prayer had remained still anchored in the stream ; the strands of the ropes which held them, wearing now to a thread, and very near their last parting, but still unbroken. What they had been they were ; and, if Maurice Channey's description had come down to us, as the account of the monastery in which Offa of Mercia did penance for his crimes, we could have detected no internal symptoms of a later age."

Dom Lawrence Hendriks very rightly points out the exaggeration of this passage. But, though overdrawn, the truth is there, that the Carthusian was the nearest then, as he is now, to the life of the primitive monasticism. And if, as Dom Hendriks says, St Cuthbert would have had something considerable to learn, it would be scarcely too much to say that John Luscote, the first Prior of the London Charterhouse, would be able to take his place to-day in the routine of the convent of Parkminster in Sussex.

The life that has been described is the regulation for the fully professed monk or father. In the Order there is also another grade, that of the lay brother or the " Conversi." The rule for these, though still severe according to ordinary monastic standards, is less so than for the cloister monk. They rise a little later, their services are shorter, more time is devoted to manual labour, and they often work two or three together, and are allowed, when thus working, to speak about their work, " or even to say a few words of edification." But it is noticeable that the brothers of the London house, though not leading such a strict life as the full Carthusians, proved of equal courage with them in the final trial of their faith. The third class of inhabitants of a Carthusian monastery is that of the servants, working, indeed, inside, but living outside.

WASH-HOUSE COURT.

Their presence is a sign of the only important alteration in the mediæval convent from the ideal of Bruno, a change which is also shown by the very position of the London Charterhouse, on the outskirts of a city. Bruno's original ideal was for his community to withdraw into some desert or barren place (*eremus*) and there to be a self-supporting religious unit. Solitary from the world, the monks were to seek God, and their attendant lay-brothers, under minor religious vows, were to win from the barren soil a bare sustenance for the community. In the original Chartreuse, the brothers lived separate from the monks, farther down the mountain side, in order that the seclusion of the latter could be more complete. There was to be thus no need for the endowments which were the financial support of monastic bodies generally, and which in the end largely contributed to their degradation. The first two English Charterhouses conformed to this ideal for many years after their foundation, but there did eventually become noticeable a tendency to accumulate property. When the London foundation is made, the ideal is frankly thrown overboard. There was no desert at Clerkenwell, and there does not seem to have been any suggestion that the lay brothers should earn the convent's living by "*petite culture*" on their small plot of land. Consequently the London Charterhouse added field to field and tenement unto tenement till it was one of the richest houses in England. It is the more honour to the convent that the wealth does not seem to have affected its religious backbone; but, in this respect, they were not following the standard which Bruno had set among the rocks of the Grande Chartreuse. Together with this withdrawal of the lay brothers from the work of finding the convent's daily bread comes the appearance of the altogether secular "servant," to cultivate the home farm, and even eventually to take over much of the internal work. The

lay brother becomes more of an attendant on the personal needs of the fathers.

There does, indeed, seem to have been some relaxation of the rule generally in the early years of the fifteenth century, at the period of the Great Schism of the Church. This anarchy in the Church may have been the cause of the creeping in of abuses: as there were two rival Popes, so there were two rival Vicars-General of the Carthusian Order, and the English houses were cut off from the supervision of the mother convent. The schism being ended, and the Order under one head once more, fresh constitutions were promptly enforced. It would seem that some wandering of the monks beyond their home walls had been allowed. In England especially, certain monks had broken the vital rule of solitude by the entertainment of others in their cells. Severe penalties were enacted. A minor matter was that the English houses were losing the correct intonation for the services, and the manner of the Chartreuse was once more enforced. A more serious matter was that some English priors had been seen going abroad on the business of the convent, accompanied by their servants dressed in a parti-coloured livery. This tendency to imitate the pomp of other Orders was absolutely forbidden. The practice of having pictures over the altars, and stained glass with shields and arms of men, and even figures of women, is also commented on. Possibly this was a more southern failing. Certainly the Italian Carthusians have not been able to resist the adorning of their houses, and cannot but plead guilty to a very considerable departure from the founder's views. The artistic glories of the Certosa of Pavia are in startling discordance with true Carthusian ideals, and the monasteries at Naples and Florence are also magnificent rather than humble.

This account of failings may appear to detract too severely from the Carthusian boast of "Nunquam

reformata sed nunquam deformata," but it does seem true that relatively the decadence was shallow and short lived. The order of Camaldolese is akin to the Carthusian in its combination of the Eastern eremetical with the Western monastical life. It has not had nearly such a good record in the maintenance of its ideals.

The Annual General Chapter, held at the Grande Chartreuse, was the ruling parliament of the Carthusian Order, if such a word can be used in connection with a body who lay so little store by the use of the tongue. It is to the strength of this mountain-top gathering that the uniform character of Carthusian life is due. It ruled through its Provincial Visitors. These men were commanded to go to each monastery in order, and beyond the inquiries they were ordered to make, it was laid on the conscience of each individual monk that he should tell them, on his own initiative, of anything he knew which was being done contrary to the rule. It is pleasant to read the admirable standing instructions to visitors, that in their reports they are to "avoid exaggerated praise on the one hand and harsh reproof on the other, keeping to the naked truth expressed in the simplest language."

The dress of the Carthusian is simple in character and white in colour. A long robe of undyed wool descends to the ankles, held round the waist by a leathern girdle with a large pendent rosary. The upper part of the body is enveloped in a large cowl. For the initiatory period, the novice is clothed in a black mantle, and a similar black cloak covers the white robes of the professed, when on their weekly walk. It is a body of monks, cowled and cloaked like this, that we can imagine issuing once a week from the London Charterhouse, and turning away from the city, and which the fifteenth-century wayfarer from Islington might have met in the quiet lanes of that neighbourhood. By their long Sunday walk, the genera-

tions of monks probably became very familiar with the heights of Hampstead and Highgate.

It has been said that the Carthusian is, and always has been, drawn to literary work. It is indeed enjoined on them in the earliest form of the customs of the Order. In these, dating from 1127, it is said that as the Carthusian does not preach the word of God with his mouth, it is desirable that he does it with his hands; that is, he is to be a diligent student and a literary copyist. A still earlier account of the Grande Chartreuse says that the monks there, though they observe the utmost poverty, are getting together a very rich library. When the new art of printing came the Carthusians were among the earliest to welcome it. Gunther Zainer, first printer at Augsburg, starting work in 1468, was connected with a monastery of the Order, and placed many of his books in its library. His death is recorded in the archives of the Order. Mr Williamson has collected the names of twenty-two Carthusian convents wherein, at one time or another, printing has been carried on. At one, the monastery of Parma, the monks had worked their own press as early as 1477. It is even maintained, on doubtful authority however, that the Cologne monks were earlier still in the field. From the beautiful buildings of the Certosa of Pavia came very beautiful books, and, as Mr Williamson notes, the work of the Missal of this house, printed in 1562, is of markedly greater excellence than the usual deteriorating work of that time. The Carthusians, true to their history, maintained the pristine simplicity and strength of purpose beyond their neighbours. The great printing work of the modern Order has been done at the French house at Montreuil, whence have issued splendid specimens of the art. Here the monks had a type-foundry, binding-shops, and the best machinery. The greater part of the operations were done by the lay brothers with the help of printers employed from outside,

but the literary work of preparation of matter, correction of proofs, and management were conducted by certain of the choir fathers, and the constant attention to secure accuracy is marked. When the Association Laws of 1901, drove the monks out of France, the Carthusians of Montreuil went to Parkminster, in Sussex, but the printing press has migrated to Tournai, in Belgium. It has issued books for the use of its own Order, and also reprints of early records relating to it.

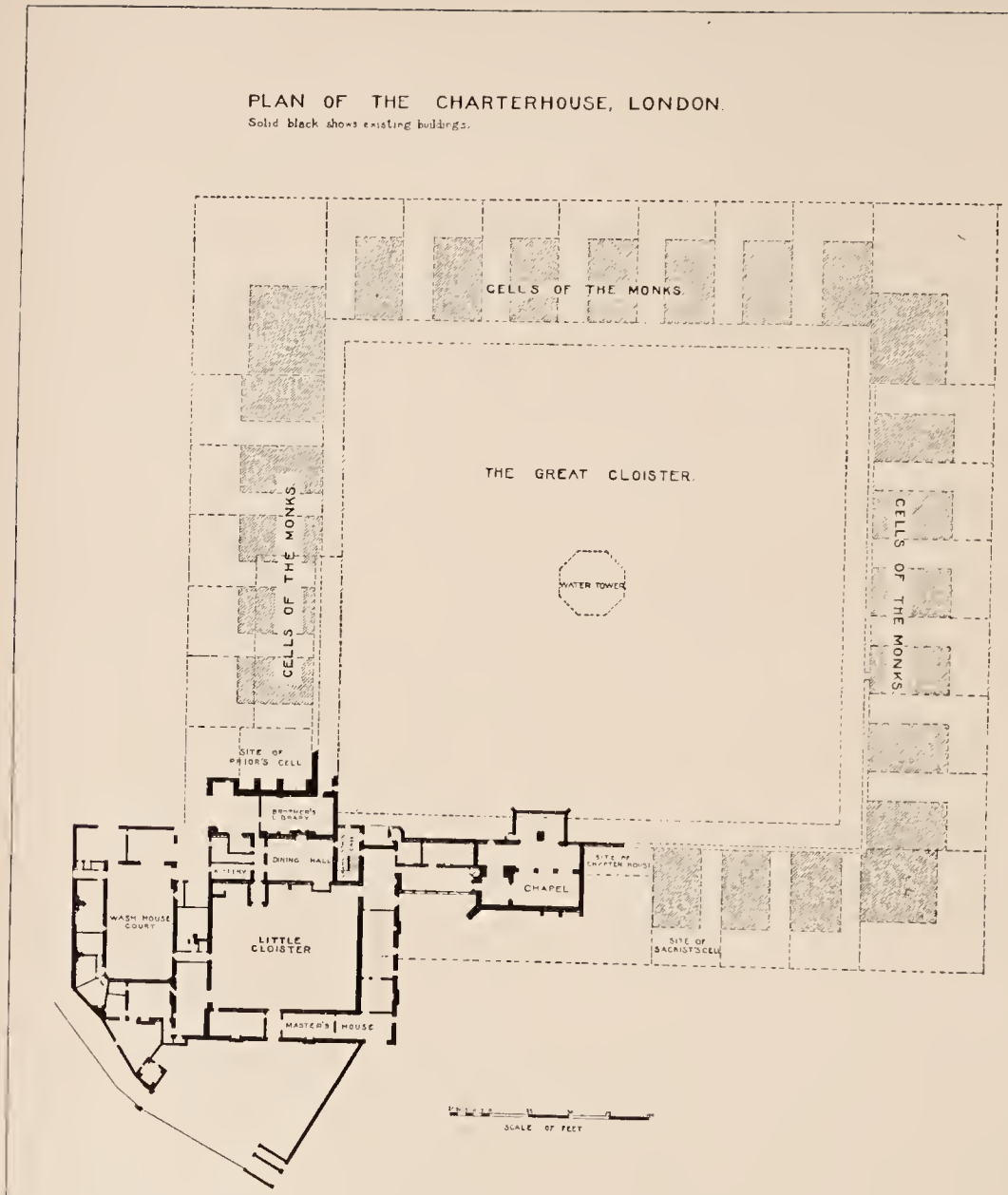
CHAPTER IV

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF LONDON AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

Such then was the life led by the London Carthusian Fathers, during the hundred and sixty years of the community's existence. In reconstructing the buildings that contained that life, we are fortunate in having still existent, incorporated in the present structure, more complete portions than remain of any other of the London monastic buildings. There is also in existence a singularly interesting plan, drawn on a roll of parchment in the fifteenth century. This is primarily an exact and business-like drawing of the entire water system of the monastery, from its source at Islington, to its distribution to the various cells and domestic rooms. It gives also a vivid picture of the monastic arrangements, and of the various buildings.

In the Carthusian monastery there was no great church, round which clustered the other buildings, no large chapter-house, no big communal rooms, as in the usual mediæval monastery that we picture, such as there were in the great Priory of St Bartholomew, the neighbour of the London Charterhouse. The important unit of the buildings was the individual "cell." In the London foundation there were twenty-four cells, that is, it was a "double foundation," twelve being the regulation for an ordinary monastery. These cells were arranged round a quadrangle, and the playground of the Merchant Taylors' School keeps to this day the shape of this square of buildings, with even some portion of the cells remaining.

It should be said that the Carthusian "cell," was a larger place than might be suggested by the word. The



PLAN OF THE PRESENT CHARTERHOUSE, WITH A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD MONASTERY.

solitary life made it needful that each monk should have sufficient space for his various needs and occupations. "An ambulatory, a little garden walled in, a cottage consisting of four small rooms; below the workshops, above the ante-room with a statue of our Lady, and the cell proper with *prie-Dieu*, small refectory, bed, study table, and bookshelves," says Dom Lawrence Hendriks, "a Carthusian understands all this by his 'cell.'" This was the realm, the "*Imperium in imperio*," of each individual monk. A mediæval satirist constructed his ideal order, "The Order of Bel-Ease," to which each order contributed its desirable custom. The contribution of the Carthusians consisted of the little comforts of the cell with its plants in the window.

The west, north, and east of the quadrangle were composed by twenty-one of the cells, each with a letter painted above the door, and beside the door a hatch by which food could be handed to the occupant. On the south side, were two more of the ordinary monks' cells, and one for the sacrist. The sacrist as the guardian of the chapel and its sacred contents, ranked next to the prior in the monastery. Beside his cell was the little chapel and the smaller chapter-house. The chapel, though enlarged, still serves a religious purpose for the present foundation. At the south-west corner of the square was the prior's cell, and the fratry, and beyond these and outside the main cloister were the rooms of the "conversi," and the domestic offices. The present Washhouse Court remains to-day very much in the same condition as left by the builders in the last years of the monastery's existence.

Perhaps the draughtsman of the fifteenth century plan that has been referred to may have been tempted by professional pride, into exaggerating a feature belonging to the water works that he was delineating, but according to his plan the main ornament of the great quadrangle, as well as its central object, was the water tower. This building

is shown as an octagonal erection, of stone in the lower storey, with above this, on a corbelled-out base, a storey of pannelled wood, covered with a beautiful pyramidal roof with incurved sides. The whole is crowned with wind vane and a cross. Altogether it must have been a striking building, and the most important in the monastery, save perhaps the chapel, with its octagonal "fleche," surmounted by another banner as a wind vane, and a cross.

Directions are written on the plan, that the door into the top of the water tower "openythe east warde and the Goyng up thereunto ys by a ladder, and above ys a Greate Cestron square of leade, and in the middle therof doth Ryse the mayne pype" bringing water from Islington. The whole parchment is intensely interesting, as illustrating the work of the mediæval plumber, and the information is very precise. Evidently the monks did not intend to be put at a disadvantage if a pipe should burst.

From the "age," as the water tower is called (perhaps from the Latin *Augea*), pipes run to each side of the square, and make the round of the cells. The pipe going south leads direct to a pretty little lavatory, and then turns eastwards into a complication of pipes and cocks, that require explicit notes by the draughtsman. One branch leads to "the sexten is cook" (the sacristan's cock), in "hys wassyng plac'," another to the "launderi cok."

A further pipe leads from the "age" out of the cloister by the south-west corner, and has an interesting course. It serves various domestic offices, the buttery and the brew house, and then issues out of the gate house towards a building where the present Charterhouse Square is, which is called "Egipte the fleyshe kychyn." It may have served for the meals of the servants. The flesh pots of Egypt had no place in the provisioning of the monks. The water goes on to supply the "Windmill," probably a

tavern, as may be the "elyms and the hertis horne" to which another pipe goes. A fourth tavern has its share too, though the monks are careful to state that "the water that gothe fro the Wyndmyll to the white hert is of no dote (value) but onely the waste water of the wyndmyll by the sufferaunce of the charter house."

The source from which this water is obtained is Islington. As John Stow the Elizabethan antiquary wrote, London was formerly "served with sweet and fresh waters, which being since decayed, other means have been sought to supply the want."

So to satisfy their needs the big monasteries constructed considerable waterworks. On this side of London, the Grey Friars drew their water from the conduit which still exists in Queens Square, Bloomsbury, and is now being incorporated in the bathing apartments of the Imperial Hotel extension. The Knights of St John and the nuns of St James of Clerkenwell had both gone to Islington, and when the Charterhouse went for its water to the same village, it was necessary to go farther north to tap a fresh supply. It shows the remarkable care that a mediæval monastery took to provide a good supply of water, that these institutions should have gone to such an expense to take water to a place where abundance could have been raised from shallow wells on the spot. They either thought much of the purity of their water, or else they appreciated the convenience of the supply by gravity under pressure to the cocks in the monastery.

The Charterhouse conduit was constructed about 1430, when there was a grant from John Feriby and Margery his wife of the rights to take water at Barnesbury, near Islington, on payment of 12d. yearly. The map of the pipe is quite an interesting picture of the fifteenth century environs of London, and we see how largely the great monastic houses entered into the life of the country. There are shown "Ye nonys condite of clerkynwelle" and

"ye seynt John condite." Close by the "Hygh way from Iseldon toward London," is the "Myll hill in ye nonys feelde of clerkynwelle," that is the mill of the nuns of Clerkenwell. There is also shown "the myll hill in the commaunderes mantillis." With excellent exactness, the course of the conduit is traced on the plan, with all its little cisterns on the way, over the fields till it runs between Pardon chapel, and a field of "barleyte grownd with the lyttyl Cottage joynynge unto Islyngton Waye," and so enters the Charterhouse precincts from the north.

John Stow in his survey of London does not give any details of the buildings, but he supplies a list of twenty-one people whose "monuments" were, he says, in the Charterhouse chapel. It includes Sir Walter de Manny, and his wife, and other knights and ladies, such as Marmaduke Lumley, Dame Jean Borough, Want Water, knight, and Philip Morgan, Bishop of Ely. In the cloister were buried Bartholomew Rede, knight and mayor of London, and Sir John Popham. The latter was one of the Pophams who were, as Stow tells us elsewhere, "nobilitated" in the reign of Henry the Second. This particular Popham died rich, "leaving great treasure of strange coins."

The surroundings of the Charterhouse can have altered comparatively little during the period of the monastery's existence. During the fifteenth century England marked time, and London grew but little. Not till Elizabeth's time, did any great growth of London take place beyond the walls. The Charterhouse remained almost in the country, save for the three greater convents beside it. Between it and the Hospital of St John, however, grew up a collection of houses. In the account of the contributions to a subsidy in 1525, 117 names are given in St Johns Street as liable to taxation, eleven of them being servants of the Charterhouse. In the same subsidy only forty-four names are given for the district of Holbourne. On the

EXTERIOR OF WASH-HOUSE COURT.

other road that ran close to the Charterhouse, the building, when it did come, seems to have been largely connected with the providing of amusements, the characteristic of this side of London especially. John Stow, writing after the dissolution, tells us, of the road leading from Aldersgate, that outside the gate it was " replenished with small tenements, cottages and allies, gardens, banquetting houses, and bowling places." Perhaps, something of this tendency showed whilst the Carthusians were still there, if so, these very secular neighbours must have been near enough for the sound of revelry to break in sometimes on the devotions.

One dramatic sound may have come to the ears of the monks very shortly after the foundation. They were close beside Smithfield, and here, in 1381, the excited crowd of the Peasants' Rising gathered to meet the boy King Richard. The roar of the mob must have carried to the solitary monks of the Charterhouse. Apart from the world as they lived, one is tempted to wonder as to what they knew of the stirring occurrences going on so close outside their walls. They must have watched the smoke rolling up from the burning buildings of their friends, the Knights of St John. The peasants had their special grievances against great monasteries, and as their provincial brothers stormed the great abbeys of Peterborough and Bury St Edmunds, so in London the Priory of St John was attacked and set on fire. It continued to burn for seven days, and it was many years before the knights had entirely rebuilt their house. The discovery, built into a wall in the Charterhouse, of a fragment of eastern sculpture, such a piece of work as the knights may well have brought home from the east, has suggested to Archdeacon Hale, that the ruins of the priory served as a quarry for some building operations at the Charterhouse. The last portion of the works to be finished in the rebuilt priory was the gateway, completed a few years before the dis-

solution, and which still exists, and is inhabited by the modern order of St John, carrying on the old ideals of military charity; they are the originators of the Red Cross. The most important feature of the new buildings was the great bell tower, which must have been a striking object on this side of London. According to Stow it was "a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt and innamelled to the great beautifying of the city, and passing all other that I have seen."

The connection between the Priory of St John and the Charterhouse was always an intimate one. The knights, more men of the world, were able to be of use in business affairs to their more secluded brethren, and they, in their turn, certainly valued the spiritual intercession on their behalf offered by the Carthusians. A curious instance of this is the document granting, in 1430, religious and ghostly assistance to the Priory, and a participation in spirit, by the community of St John, in the masses, fasts, vigils, abstinences, and other spiritual exercises performed in the Charterhouse. It may be more than a coincidence, that this is just the time when the Carthusians were constructing their waterworks, an engineering feat in the same district whither the knights had already gone for their supply, and where their advice would have been very useful. It was also necessary to get leave from the knights to carry the pipe over their property. So, if it is not making the matter a more worldly one than it perhaps was, the Carthusians may have received, in the legal phrase, "valuable consideration" to balance their concession. One of the documents concerning this matter is worth being given in full, in a translation:

"Of the Anniversary annually to be celebrated.

"To the reverend and religious man in Christ, to be embraced spiritually in our bowels, Brother William Hulles, Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, in England, your humble and devoted John, Prior (although

unworthy) of the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, of the Carthusian Order, near London, and the convent of the same place, due and befitting respect, and by their prayers to obtain the reward of heavenly joys: We desiring to compensate your extraordinary love heretofore affectionately shown to us, in the highly important affairs and business of our house, do with one assent grant unto you the office of a perpetual anniversary for the health of your soul, after its departure from this life, to be performed by us and our successors yearly for ever; and lest by length of time it should be blotted from memory by oblivion, we will inscribe it in our Martyrology. Moreover, of our special kindness, we grant to you that when your death (which God make happy and acceptable to him) shall have been made known to us, we will faithfully celebrate, with grateful speed, a trental of masses, to be continued for thirty days; the first mass to be solemnly chanted with note, in our Convent, the obsequies of the dead being first performed, viz. Placebo and Dirige, after the custom of our Order, for your soul, the sooner to convey it with God's providence into Abraham's bosom. In witness whereof we have fixed our common seal to these presents, Given in our house aforesaid, on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Lady, in the year of our Lord one thousand CCCCXXX."

But earlier than this, in May 1378, the Hospital of St John had granted four acres of land to the Charterhouse, which land, it is stated in the deed, is contiguous to that already owned by the latter. The land is to be used for "inclosing and making gardens for the cells of the prior and his friars." In the same year, the executors of Felicia de Thymelby gave to "God, the Virgin Mary, and John, Prior of the convent of Charterhouse," 260 marks to found a cell, with a sufficient portion of cloister and garden ground, and to endow a monk to pray and cele-

brate the divine offices for the health of the souls of the said Felicia, and her husband, and all the faithful. The Prior promised to carry out all this, and added a tricennary of masses for the benefactor. This grant is a little perplexing, as no additional cell beyond the twenty-four provided by the founders, appears on the plan of the buildings. Perhaps the money was used to endow one of the existing cells.

Another link between the Carthusians and the knights was the piece of land known as Pardon Churchyard. It has been described how Bishop Ralph de Stratford purchased this land from the Priory of St John, and consecrated it for plague burials. It would seem probable that it is the other three acres to which de Manny refers in his charter of foundation. It would certainly appear to have gone with the Charterhouse property in its various changes of ownership after the Dissolution, the graveyard becoming then a pleasant garden. But apparently it had reverted to the hands of the knights, as in 1514, as stated already, they were able to grant to Edmond Travers, " the custody and keeping of our chapel called the Pardon Chapel."

The Knights of St John claimed sanctuary for any who had given alms to their order, and the privilege to bury their bodies, however they might have died. They thus became possessed of the bodies of felons, which they buried in Pardon Churchyard. Such corpses were " usually fetched thither in a close cart, bal'd over and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarting, and at the fore-end a St John's cross without, and within a bell ringing by the shaking of the cart, whereby the same might be heard when it passed, and this was called the friery-cart, which belonged to St John's, and had the priviledge of sanctuary."

Many gifts of property were made to the Charterhouse, and at the Dissolution its revenues were valued

THE GATEWAYS OF CHARTERHOUSE FROM WITHIN.

at £736, 2s. 7d. gross, and at £642, 0s. 4½d. net, equal to about £8000 of present money. That is, it was one of the richest houses in England, though one of the humblest in its buildings. Most of the property it owned consisted of houses in London, or pastures and plough land at "Hackney," "Marybone," "Blumsbury," or Holborn, but it owned one house at Rochester which is of special interest. It is described as the "Hospit. voc. le Bull." It must be the famous old hostelry of the Bull in that city, that inn which nowadays we chiefly connect with Mr Pickwick and his company, the versatile Jingle, and the fiery Dr Slammer. But it found its place in literature before, and Shakespeare mentions it. It is strange to think of the solitary Carthusian drawing tribute from the noisy and merry ganglion of the busy life of the open road, and that particular road the most bustling and crowded in England. In a like contrast, he is to-day represented on many tables, the antipodes of his own modest one, by the green and white bottles of the Chartreuse liqueur.

It is only fair to say, and to say it at once, that though the contrast is so piquant, the wealth the monks have drawn from their product has not, we are told on good authority, made the slightest difference to the austerity of their private life. They value the money for what it enables them to do. With it they endow charity and found new houses of their Order. The modern English house at Parkminster, in Sussex, the largest Charterhouse in the world, was paid for by the *bons vivants* of the world. The history of the manufacture is that when the monks were allowed to return to the Grande Chartreuse, after their expulsion during the French Revolution, they were unable to obtain repossession of the lands which had been their support. They did not take the opportunity to return to the ideals of Bruno, so to provide for even their meagre necessities, they had to devise some means of

support. They therefore concocted the liqueur, which has since become so famous.

One grant, not of land, might be mentioned. One of the last acts of Edward the Third was to grant in perpetuity to the Charterhouse a tun of wine yearly, by the hands of the King's butler, such wine to serve for the celebration of the mass. Similar grants were often made to monasteries. This particular one was commuted in 1462 to a money payment of 18 marks yearly.

Just before the Dissolution, in July 1530, the Charterhouse and the Priory of St Bartholomew exchanged certain property. The Carthusians part, among other houses, with a tenement in St John's Street, without the bars of St Sepulchre, called "le Elmes" (which sounds quite a modern suburban villa title), and another tenement called "le Holy Waterstyk" (perhaps an inn named after the holy water sprinkler) in "le Fleshambles." Bartholomews give in exchange one messuage, eight cottages thereto adjoining, and one pond, and four gardens, in the "suburbs of London," near Long Lane, called Fogwell Houses, Fogwell Pond, and Fogwell Gardens, but there is given them a power of restraint on 200 acres of meadow, which is commonly called "Blomesbury," which the Charterhouse own. If the Carthusian Order owned to-day those 200 acres of "Blomesbury" they would find them an even richer possession than their trade mark in the title of Chartreuse liqueur is to them now.

At the time of the Dissolution, there existed in England nine monasteries belonging to the Carthusian Order. These were, in the order of their foundation, Witham and Hinton, both in Somerset, London, Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, the monastery of St Anne at Coventry, the priories of Hull and Mountgrace, both in Yorkshire, Epworth in Lincolnshire, usually known as Axholme, from

the island in the marshy district in which it was situated, and also sometimes called the "Priory in the Wood." Epworth is now chiefly known in the history of religion as the birthplace of John Wesley. The last to be established was the convent founded by Henry the Fifth at Sheen, near Richmond, the largest and richest of all the English houses.

CHAPTER V

A HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF THE LIFE OF THE CONVENT

A FEW years after the foundation of the London Charterhouse, a certain secular priest, one Robert Palmer, presented himself to the Prior, asking that he might be received into the Order. Palmer had been a devout and hard-working parish priest, and set forth with a fellow clerk on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, intending to remain there. He besought a message from God as to whither his steps were to be led, and during Mass at the Holy Sepulchre, the legend relates, a voice came to him telling him to return to England, and enter the Carthusian Order, that being the body "most pleasing to God." Palmer recognised the message as an answer to his prayer; it was spoken in the English tongue, which was unknown to those around him.

He returned to his parish at Coventry and asked for a fresh manifestation of the divine will. In a vision, he was directed to found a Carthusian house in a certain field outside the town. Robert was a man of great simplicity of character, we are told, and he immediately, and with commendable directness, took a spade, went to the field, and began marking out the great cloister of a monastery. To the astonished rustic owners, he replied, in the words of the Psalmist, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."

The peasants had no ill-will to their priest, whom they respected for his works, and decided to lay the matter before the king, Richard the Second. Summoned to

CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE, LOOKING TOWARDS THE BUILDINGS OF CHARTERHOUSE.

court to account for his actions, Palmer pleaded his cause so well that Richard promised to purchase the site, and help in the foundation. It was to qualify as a Carthusian that Palmer now asked admission to the London house. The Prior received him as a monk, and so that he might oversee the steps being taken towards the Coventry foundation, he made Palmer procurator to the convent. This officer dealt with external matters of the monastery, and therefore had a dispensation to go freely beyond the walls. Having dwelt some years in the London monastery, Robert Palmer, in 1381, finally departed to Coventry, the house there being then ready for occupation.

The annals of the London Charterhouse are simple annals; almost all we can give is a list of Priors, devout men who uneventfully carried out their duties. John Obredon succeeded to John Luscote, and to him again John Maplestede. The unbroken succession of Johannine rule was continued by John Thorne, John Walwan, and John Seman. The last was succeeded in 1469, by Edward Storan. After him came John Wolfringham, and then Richard Roche. This man is possibly the Father Rock, who, like Bruno the founder of the Carthusians, was learned in secular lore to an almost incredible degree, but who, like Bruno, came to desire the spiritual life more.

Roche seems to have continued Prior till the appointment of William Tynbygh. John Batmanson followed in 1529, and to him succeeded John Houghton, the man whose heroic end may be said to close the line of the Priors of the Charterhouse of London, for the Prior who succeeded to him was no choice of the convent, but a man forced on them by Cromwell, as a means to obtain the surrender of the convent.

Of William Tynbygh, "of holiness beyond telling," who was Prior from 1500 to 1529, there are recorded some

amazing spiritual experiences, such indeed as connect the spiritual with the physical. He was of Irish birth, and when about twenty years old, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and there fell into the hands of the Saracens. He was cast into prison, a day appointed for his execution, and on the eve of this, Tynbygh, in the agony of his mind praying to heaven, bethought himself of a picture of St Catherine hanging in the chapel of his home in Erin, and made, with many tears and sighs, intercession to this saint for his deliverance. Whilst thus imploring aid, sleep fell on him, and when he awoke he was lying safe in his father's house, many miles from the Saracens, before the very picture to which he had prayed. When he recounted what had happened to him, he was held to be a saint, and the youth, turning these matters over in his mind, made the resolve to put on the religious habit. He crossed the sea, and entered the London Charterhouse. But his troubles and miraculous experiences were not yet passed. Even as St Antony was tempted so was young William Tynbygh in his cell. Some of the devils that came could fight, and draw blood, and many a struggle followed. The monk endeavoured to conceal his trials and his victories from the brethren that he might preserve his sacred humility, but one night the battle was so sore that William Tynbygh, when the time for matins came, was lying unconscious on the floor of the cell, bleeding, as the chronicler tells us, and wounded, with many sore physical wounds. Thus he was found by the Infirmarius. His absence from the chapel had been marked, and among these stern devotees only illness could be suggested as the reason of this; so it was the Infirmarius who was sent to search for him. Such is the account, given of the life of the man, who entering the cloister about 1470, passed through the offices of Sacristan and Vicar, to become Prior in 1500. It is the ambition of all true Carthusians, who are called to high office that they may

be permitted by the General Chapter to retire to the solitude of the simple cell, there to end their days, and William Tynbygh was granted this privilege in 1529. He had attained to a great reputation for sanctity in his later years. His chronicler speaks of him thus: "This holy father was of so great holiness that for many years before his death rarely or never could he utter that most holy Evangel, 'In the beginning was the Word,' without esctasy and rapture. He was taken up one time into heaven, that he might there be permitted to hear ineffable words, and to have sight there, and recognition, of many that had been formerly his dear friends on earth. Beyond all others he was in sanctity, this being acknowledged by all men without any dissimulation."

To this remarkable monk succeeded John Batmanson, who was then an old man. He had some reputation as a writer, and in the course of these labours broke a lance against that redoubtable adversary, Erasmus. The Archbishop of York had commissioned Batmanson to write a reply to some dubious opinions held by the great scholar, and also another book refuting the less doubtful heresies of Martin Luther. Erasmus had a poor opinion of his opponent. He judged him, by his writings, to be a young man, "utterly ignorant but vain-glorious even to madness." This Prior died in 1531, and he was followed by John Houghton, the man who was to be the courageous inspirer of his convent in its great trial. The Carthusian Order had started in England with an example of sanctity and strength. St Hugh of Grenoble, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, being the first Prior of a completed house. The history of the Order had been a quiet story from that time, but at the end of its existence in mediæval England it was to prove itself worthy of its earliest days.

Besides the regular inhabitants, the fathers and lay brothers, it was permissible for the mediæval Charterhouse to receive men who wished to live there for a certain period

only. These half-monks were known as "clerical oblates," and when they chose they could go out into the world again, having been spiritually braced up by this life "in retreat." The practice is no longer allowed, as it was found to open the door to infringements of the correct and full Carthusian life. There were several remarkable men of the early sixteenth century who were connected in some such way as this to the Charterhouse of London, and of these the most notable is Thomas More, one of the purest and finest spirits of history. It is not clear what his exact connection with the convent was; he does not appear to have been a definite clerical oblate, but the call to the exclusively spiritual life came strongly to the young man. He was just about to come of age, had already made his mark in the world of intellect, and was the friend of Erasmus. All these things must have taken, at the most, a secondary place in his mind when he went to live near the Charterhouse, so that he might share, as Erasmus tells us, in the "vigils, fasts, and prayers, and similar austerities" of the monks. It was at this time that More started the practice of wearing, next to his skin, a sharp hair shirt, and he continued to do this in secret throughout his life. He also scourged himself frequently, and restricted his hours of sleep to four or five.

Thomas More lived this life for four years, and then returned to the full flood of secular life. Disgust at the "impurity of the cloister" has been given as the reason of his thus turning from the career of a monk, or priest, which it is supposed he intended to enter; but those who surmise thus do not give sufficient importance to that respect and affection which More continued, throughout his after life, to bear for the Carthusian fathers of London, though he was a keen critic of monastic failings. A few weeks before his death he watched, with admiration, the heroic bearing of three Priors of the Order,

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as they were being led to their execution. It is permissible to be certain that More, from his inner knowledge, found no "impurity" in the Charterhouse of London, but rather that he experienced the almost fanatical exaltation of the spiritual and mystical side of the human being. It may have been the exquisite sanity and strength of Thomas More that withdrew him from a more partial to a wider realisation of himself. But this enigmatic spirit carried with him, throughout his life, a very definite sign, in the hair shirt which he wore, that he had not rejected in disgust the ideals of the convent. The Carthusians may claim that it was from a mind in sympathy with them that there came the book that marked the entry of English thought into the full tide of Renaissance literature.

Another of the eager spirits of the time was connected with the Carthusian Order in the person of Dean Colet. It is stated that at the end of his life he built for himself a house within the convent of Sheen, and here he died. If this is true, and Colet did associate with the monks, that enlightened intellect must surely have found congenial spirits there.

Thomas Starkey was another of the men who retired for a time to the Charterhouse. There is a letter from a friend of his, Edmund Harvell, written from Venice in 1531, in which the friend asks him why he has inclosed himself in the Charterhouse and dedicated all his works to perpetual philosophy. Will he not come forth to teach others, and make all the land know "quam sit humaniter vivendum," help to take out all barbarous customs, and bring the realm to an antique form of good living? According to the index of the "Letters and Papers," this is addressed to a Laurence Starkey, but it is almost certain that it refers to Starkey the divine and scholar.

The third man connected with the Charterhouse is Sir

John Gage, a man of action and honour. It was reported in January, 1534, that he had renounced his office of vice-chamberlain, and had gone to the Charterhouse, intending, with the consent of his wife, to become a Carthusian. Gage, about this time, had dared to give Henry his true, and unfavourable, opinion of the king's policy, and he may have thought his career over. Whether his wife did not give consent, or whether he had other reasons, he did not carry out this resolve of renunciation of the world.

The period of the existence of the London Charterhouse was a time of eclipse for the monastic orders—that is, as regards their more vital energies. Richer though they were, and more secularly powerful than ever, there was much internal demoralisation, and from the outside a weakening of respect for them was apparent. One cannot, of course, accept the results reaped by Henry the Eighth's notorious visitors; but there can be little doubt that decadence was far advanced when a great monastery could sink into the condition that called forth the tremendous indictment sent by Cardinal Morton to the mitred Abbot of St Albans in 1489. There are several letters still existing which deal with matters of the internal organisation of the Carthusian body in the opening years of the sixteenth century. Though some of these show that there were unworthy brethren, still the care taken, and the methods used, for the reformation of such monks certainly point to a vigorous administration of the Order at a time when monastic bodies generally were at a very low ebb.

Probably by a like fate to that which draws the veil of oblivion close round the happy town which has no history, while its neighbour, which has seen battle or murder, springs to fame, we hear more of the failures of the Order than of the worthy brethren.

There is a letter from Prior Tynbygh to the parson of the

Church of St Peter in Thetford, who has written to forward the desire of William Hope to re-enter the London Charterhouse. The parson is thanked for his charity to Hope, but the writer adds, " Where you desire to have knowledge how soon the said William may be received into our religion, I do think verily in as much as he was once in our religion and went out of it, and sith at divers times hath been at point to be received to the same and of his own unstableness hath gone from his appointment, that my brethren will not receive him again to our religion without that they may understand in him by long time continual stability in sad and virtuous living; the which Almighty God for his great mercy grant him, if it be his will." The Carthusians were too stern for William Hope, and he became a brother professed of a milder order. The Charterhouse continued, however, to pay for his keep at the house he entered. At that time a novice took the full and irrevocable vows after only a year's trial. Nowadays the candidate for admission after a year's residence is permitted to take simple vows, the solemn and binding profession being made after a further four years' trial of the stern life. It is not surprising that under the old system there should have been some whose courage or strength failed them after their admission. In Batmanson's priorate there was one monk, John Norton, who felt the strain so severely that he developed suicidal tendencies. He was wisely permitted to retire, and he became a canon in the west country, " and did very well."

Dan Barker had quitted his monastery and his habit without permission, a very grave fault, and was apparently ordered to be sent to the London house, perhaps because, this being the best-ordered house, his recovery would be thus the more secure. The Prior there—it is uncertain who it was, as the letters are undated—appears to have urged that he would prefer to try more gentler

persuasions on him than the severe punishments ordered by the provincial visitor, but the latter refused to yield. He writes thus to the Prior: "God forbid, father, that I should discharge an apostate. The monk has been out of the house of his profession four weeks at the least, hurting therein in special his soul, to the displeasure of God and to the slander of the Religion, how much I know not well. . . . Let me know whether you will punish him after the form of the Order. If he order himself religiously with you, in process of time he may be more favourably dealt with. If you will not receive him, I propose to set him in our prison until his father prior send for him." The London Prior yielded, and William Barker went there, and was still there in 1534.

With reference to the use of the word "Religion" in the above letter, and on future occasions, it should be mentioned that to the mediæval world the "religious" man was the monk, altogether separate from the "cleric" or secular priest. In a similar way, when a Carthusian speaks of his "Religion," he means the body of practice and faith comprised in his own particular Order.

There was another troublesome monk, William Bakster. He was a monk professed of London, and had committed some fault for which he had been transferred to the Witham priory, that he might there forget and repent. But it would seem that the brethren were not perfect in charity. The Prior writes in distress to London, that "owre gest Danne William Bakster desyryth you to have an answer of hys letter late sent unto you. He is vere busy in desyring to cum home to you agayne; God knowyth if he wold stabyll hymselff he myghte lyve with us in grete reste and quyettnes, and I am sure non of our cloyster gyveth hym contrary cause; he hath writyn a nother letter to the Fader of Shene (the provincial visitor) to have hys wylle fulfylled, I pray God it be not *ruina sua*, but to hys profyt and worship of our relygion. He wold

have no spekying of his transgress, but it is not in my power to stop manys mowthis (mens mouths). Our Saviour Jesus stabyll him in goodness." Evidently the Carthusian scant opportunity for speech had not prevented the brethren of Witham from giving William Bakster sundry words of edification.

But the most troublesome monk of the period seems to have been Dom Hales or Halys. His failing was a restlessness and weakness of body and spirit. He was originally at the London house, but was transferred to Mount Grace, and afterwards to Axholme; but Hales is still not happy, and is most ardently desirous to return to his old convent. He writes to London condoling with the monks on the great mortality they have sustained through the pestilence, which has killed four priests and two lay brothers. He hopes that they died devoutly, as he has known divers since he entered the Order, " which hath specially caused me to make this great labour to come to London again." There are other reasons, it would appear. Poor, fragile Hales is feeling the northern winter badly. He implores to be sent to some southern monastery, as he cannot stand cold, " and aparty Northern mens condition." Strangely enough he talks as if they were proposing to make him an officer, towards which he begs them to take no more labour, as it makes all the other monks envy him, " and when the charter cometh, then am I put in 'ad ordinis voluntatem,' which is a sentence rather of tyranny than of charity." He begs once more to be taken home, or, if not, would go to Sheen, or Witham, or even Bevall, and ends piteously, " I love to be southwards, and I hate bondage."

It happens that the statement of the other side of this matter has survived the destructive years, and from the document in the Record Office can be given the opinion of the Prior of Axholme as to his unwilling guest.

" Ryght worshypfull father in our lord Jhesu with herty

recommendacion in the same desyryng to heer of your welfare. Good Father so it is that your broder Dan Halys hath beyn with us seth the fest of the assumpcion of our lady. The father prior of mountgrace sent hym unto us without auctoryte or lycence for your pleasure and (in) quyetnes I was content to resayff hym. We have a brother of ours at mountgrace sent thedyr by the auctoryte of ye generall chapyter but we hade no commaundment to take any other brother for hym. Our brother is a stronge man and redyth and syngyth ryght well, he had all thynge with hyme at hys departyng that was necessary for hym, bothe to hys body and bede. Your brother is a wayke man nott abyll to beyr the burdyn of our religion neither in fastyng redyng nor syngyng. He wantyth many thynge necessary for hym as in raiment and beddyng, his pyltche (cloak) is worthe no money. I have delyvered unto hym a payr of blankyttes and all other thynge I mynyster unto hym as I do to our brethren. He continually cryeth of me to send hym home to yowe and greatly we be inquyeted by hyme for he hath suche temptacions yf any brother or secular do spytt or host (cough) in hys presence he sayth they do it in dirision of hym. We be both few persons in nowmber and certain of us be old and wayke and other thay be that do no mass in so myche that we cannot be abyll to synge divine servis except that we may have sume strong persons to helpe us. Good Father we pray you to provide for your brother either to tayke hym home to you or ellse provyde some other place for hyme where he may be qwyet and borne in hys infyrmyte, yf ye defer and provyde nott for hym he wyll mayke farther trowble I feyr."

There is yet a further letter referring to Father Hales, this time from the Visitor General for England, to whom the matter had been referred. Apparently this is of later date, as Hales has begun to give satisfaction to the Prior at Axholme, though he is still restless himself. The

Visitor writes to the Prior of London, saying that "the father of Axholme sende unto me of late a letter with a subscripcion of his bretherne desyryng of me dyverse thinges and among other they desier that Dan Halys your brother may be sent to Coventrey for thether he is content to go and also galdde and I shall nowe wrytt to youe the same worde that they wrytt to me of hyme. And this folowyng be ther wordes, And without he be removed we fere greatly he wolbe loste therfor as your Fatherhed affortymes hathe harde and knowen his desier to be at an other house that he ben and in lyke forme we pray your Fatherhed to graunte his petycion for the saluacion of his sowle and solace to his body his mynde is soo determyned and desyrouse to be at an other house that if he be not removed he standethe in great jeopardy but for the same his mynde and desier we cowde be well content with hym he dothe his charge right well he is marvelously mended. . . ."

Two letters of this period give one of those detailed peeps into another age which, though of trivial moment, are still of interest. The Bishop of Bangor writes to the Prior of the Charterhouse in London, lest the latter should be forgetful of sundry little things left in his charge, to wit, the bishop's plate. The articles are specified, and in the original and quaint spelling the list runs thus :

"Oone Basone and a yewer of Syllwer, and oon cuppe callid a notte with a cover all of syluer and gilte ; oone gret bolle of syluer ; oone goblet with a cover of syluer parcell gylte ; oone standing cuppe with a cover double gylte ; ij salte, oone with a cover parcell gilte, and the other all gilte ; and xxiiij spones of syluer, in a case of ledder ; not dowtinge but all thes poore things be in your save kepinge hartally therfore prainge you that all the same plate may reste with you to my comyng to London, and

then I to have the same. And your kyndnesse thus shoode not be put in oblyvione. The holly trinite so knowing, who pres'ue you. At Beaulieu Octobris

Your luffyng brother in God,
THOMAS BANGOR."

The bishop was fated never again to use his twenty-four spoons, " in a case of ledder," as it must have been his successor in the see who applied for them to be delivered on August 17, 1534. Thomas Pace writes then, and reminds the Charterhouse sacristan that he delivered the plate into the " treasure house above a little turning stair in your sextry in the cloister."

CHAPTER VI

JOHN HOUGHTON AND THE COMMUNITY HE LED

We now approach the time when the Carthusians of London were to undergo the greatest trial of faith that has ever been suffered, probably, by any monastery of the Catholic Church. Surely to the members of no other community can have come such a long-drawn-out agony of persecution as was to be theirs. It is possible to get an idea of the men and the spirit that animated them. It happened that one of the monks, Maurice Chauncy by name, lived through the whole period, and proved in the end of too infirm a will to prevent him from yielding. He was to submit to the royal supremacy and for the rest of his life to lament his weakness. He has left the expression of his contrition in a moving narrative of the sufferings of the community of which he formed a member, and it is this that is the main source of knowledge of the internal life and spirit of the London Charterhouse during the last years of its existence and of the manner in which it faced the danger. As to the accuracy of Chauncy's statements, at least on the more secular side, we have Dr Gairdner's opinion that his "narrative, though written from memory many years after, is for the most part minutely accurate, and bears the test of comparison with contemporary documents to a degree almost beyond expectation," and no one is better qualified than Dr Gairdner to give this judgment. But it will appear that there is in the monk's narrative much which is frankly miraculous. One can hardly doubt that Chauncy wrote of these spiritual experiences in all good faith. They

belong to the category of those monkish marvels with which the records of mediæval religion teem. It is easy to ridicule the whole as a bundle of rubbish ; but whilst allowance must be made for self-deception and inaccuracy, and an insufficient discrimination as to what is true, yet it is probable that there is a basis for much that is related in those psychical processes of which little is known even now. The more grossly materialistic manifestations that Chauncy relates—such as the magical bodily transference of William Tynbygh from Palestine to Ireland, and the same monk's combats with devils—he relates from tradition, though a recent tradition, and not from contemporary experience. Such stories smack of an age much earlier than the fifteenth century, and could only have arisen in the mystical atmosphere of a primitive faith. The more spiritual voices and emotions that Chauncy recounts as visiting the monks in the utmost stress of their minds under persecution, and of which he speaks as a participator, are of a very different order.

When Chauncy entered the Charterhouse, John Houghton was already Prior there, and it is by relating the saintly life and character of this revered leader that he opens his book, as he says, "to the end that he may advance the more conveniently in his narration." Houghton was a native of Essex, and in his youth he went to the University of Cambridge to study both civil and canon law. Here he must have been a contemporary of Latimer, the future Protestant leader. He very soon felt the call to a spiritual life, and fearing an attempt on the part of his parents to induce him to marry, he fled, and dwelt in concealment with a priest whilst he was being prepared to take holy orders. Having attained this end he returned home, and obtained a reluctant pardon from his parents. For four years he remained a secular priest, and then his spirit urged him to further heights, "like unto the stag in the morning." So, in his twenty-eighth year,

he begged admission to the London Charterhouse, and entered there as a novice. We are told his probation was a long one. If this was from any doubt in his own mind, or failure on his part to show sufficient merit in the observances, he made full atonement by his future life. It was about 1516 when he was admitted a fully professed father, and the remaining nineteen years of his life were spent, save for a few months at Beauvale, in the Charterhouse of London, that he was to sanctify by his life and by his death.

Throughout his life Houghton was noted for his modesty and desire for self-effacement, but the light of his spirit could not be hid. "He choose to be abject in the house of the glorious Virgin Mother of God, and was accounted of men to be virtuous and holy; he yearned to be despised, yet honour pursued and took hold of him." Unwilling, true Carthusian that he was, to be taken from his solitary meditations, to fill any office which would break in on these, he found the duties of sacristan, which were laid on him, after he had been seven years in his cell, most after his heart. His spiritual mysticism was satisfied by the constant charge of the holy elements of the Mass, and his desire to do service to his fellows had many an outlet through his duties. He was five years sacristan, and during this time, as Chauncy relates, he showed his faith in a vital doctrine of his creed in a most remarkable manner. The account which follows will be read with very different feelings by different readers of the present book, but it is hoped that the reverence with which it was recounted by Chauncy will be recognised. The present writer has dared to give this story, which may bring disgust to some, for the sake of the extraordinary insight it gives into the mysticism of the Charterhouse monks.

"A certain devout Brother was stricken with a pestilential disease, and brought down to such an extremity of sickness, that when he had taken the Body of the Lord

he forthwith cast it up. This then, because the Father Prior was absent, the Father Vicar gathered and took up together with all the uncleanness that lay with it, and brought it to the cell of the aforesaid holy Father John Houghton, who was then Sacristan, to be burnt. So, when they had kindled a fire these two Fathers disputed which of them ought to cast it into the flames, but forasmuch as neither of them would take it upon himself to do this thing, it was laid aside for two days. But on the third day the devout Sacristan reverently gathered out, as far as he was able, that most venerable Sacrament of the Body of Christ from the uncleanness wherewith it was mingled, and put it again in the chalice, intending to consume it at the next celebration. Now there was a certain devout Lay Brother to whom God had often given assurance of many things by revelation, for whatsoever he asked, God in His goodness immediately gave him an answer thereto, so familiar, well pleasing and dear he was to God, as was known by many proofs unto the whole house. Him therefore the Sacristan summoned and acquainted with his design, asking him to pray to God for a knowledge of His will in this hard matter; for he feared to burn it and he loathed in a measure to take it. This Lay Brother, desiring to fulfil the command, earnestly entreated the mercy of God that He would deign to show him some sign in this matter. And lo! at the time of Matins, he was in the spirit, and beheld a great multitude whom no man could number, in white raiment, every one bearing a burning candle in his hand, entering the sanctuary with measured steps, and proceeding to that place where the Body of Jesus was laid; and there, worshipping most reverently, they opened the pyx wherein it was kept, and when they had waited there a little time they vanished. But what they did there remained unknown to the Brother who saw these things. And when he came to himself he enquired of the Sacristan

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at day-break whether he had put the aforesaid remains of the most holy Body of Christ in such a place, and when he affirmed that it was so, the Brother forthwith made known the vision to him. The most devout Father Sacristan, hearing this, laid aside the fear of death and of queasiness, and soon made himself ready with all eagerness to celebrate mass, whereat he received with reverence and love, the Host which he had reserved. But how glorious that chalice was to him no man knoweth but he that received it. It was of a truth so inebriating that they who stood by could plainly perceive it. He feared not death who took unto himself the Author of Life, nor disease because he swallowed Him who healeth all infirmities, nor was he uneasy by reason of the vomit, because he tasted how sweet the Lord is in the spirit."

This event probably occurred during the terrible epidemic of sweating-sickness, which devastated London in 1528. It was the most sweeping visitation of plague which had occurred for many years. Forty thousand people are said to have been attacked in London. In four hours eighteen of the Archbishop of Canterbury's household died. In the Charterhouse four monks and two lay brothers perished.

A heavy cross was laid on John Houghton after being five years Sacristan when he was ordered to take up the work of the procuratorship, with all its distasteful duties of contact with the world and its affairs. "Oh, great then was the grief that assailed him, how profuse the tears, how many the inmost sighs that came from him, what bodily distress came over him, who thus, loath to the uttermost, is compelled to forsake his most delectable solitude and most desired silence." But Houghton was to prove that the strength he had grown to in the cloister was to go with him into the world, and give him peace, and the recollection of God, whether in solitude or the

crowd. When he prayed, all the secular matters he had been busied with "seldom or never" (as the careful Carthusian, Chauncy, says) could disturb his mind. For three years he served as Procurator, "beloved alike of God and man." Then for six months he left his mother convent to rule the priory of Beauvale, but when Prior Batmanson died, in 1531, Houghton was, by unanimous voice, a unanimity which very rarely happens, Chauncy says, called back to London, that he might lead that monastery. The virtues which he had wished to hide had become as a light on the hill, and he was immediately afterwards, when he was appointed principal Visitor of the province, raised to the highest position of his Order in England.

John Houghton was now a man of about forty-four years. It may be believed that the monastery over which he came to rule was already remarkable for the strength and purity of its religious life. John Tynbygh, whatever we may deduct from his miraculous experiences, was certainly a man of great power and influence, and he had spent sixty years within its walls, thirty of them as Prior. The touching vigour of the faith of this small community may, perhaps, be attributed in part to his leadership and example, but it was inspired in the main by the love and quiet power of John Houghton.

Chauncy says of Houghton that, "very little he was of stature, neat of aspect, shy in look, modest in manner, dulcet of speech, chaste of body, and humble in heart." We have a picture of one who ruled by love and quietness, and not of a man of any overmastering personality. Froude writes: "We can readily imagine his appearance; with that feminine austerity of expression which, as has been well said, belongs so peculiarly to the features of the mediæval ecclesiastic." This was the simple-minded man who, together with the kindred and gentle spirits of Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, was to be the first to

meet, and dare to oppose, King Henry, when he claimed to be the ruler of the Church in England.

As may be expected, Houghton entered on the management of the convent with humility and gentleness. If any of the brothers should call him "Lord," or use any title of honour, he would rebuke them. It was not for the Carthusian to make broad his phylacteries, or to become as the Pharisees. But he was careful that the brothers should bow to each other, and to himself, when meeting. Such reverence was ordained in the statutes, and enjoined by the language of Holy Scripture. As to that offered to himself, he took it as an occasion for self-humiliation. When he visited a father in his cell, he went not as Prior, but as a brother, but the younger brethren, those who had been in the convent only four or five years, he feared to encourage too much in boldness. These he would exercise in mortification of self, by denying what they most urgently asked for, soon following the denial, however, by a visit of consolation, perhaps sending some small "present" (*xeniolum*) to encourage the youthful monk. But to the elders he would be gentle and mild, "so as to make them pliant, and ready for all things."

Bitterness he wished to root out utterly from the community. "He was not wont to say, 'Let them look to it, let them restrain themselves,' but he approached them" (that is any in whose hearts there was the bitterness of strife) "without delay, he diligently sought out the cause, and by his admonitions, mingled now with wine, now with oil, he calmed the roaring of the hellish beast, and assuaged the passions of the unruly. And, if any man was stirred up against him, he was not ashamed for the sake of peace to be the first to seek pardon by humbly abasing himself. . . . He was so patient that on a certain day, he withstood not a certain one of them when he rose against him, but fell at his feet, and as a true recluse, gave the cheek to the smiter. He was overwhelmed with

revilings, blows and buffets, until others snatched him from the hand of his tormentor. He repaid not his oppressor with any words of threatening or strife, and no man ever saw him moved by any passion of wrath. And when the brethren had shut up in prison him who presumed to inflict such things upon his Father, he, as a true imitator of Jesus Christ, answered, 'Spare him, I pray you, brethren, spare him; why are ye jealous on my behalf? What hath he ever done unto me like this? What evil hath he done to me, evil that I am? He hath not hurt me. Why are ye angry? the fault lay not in that good Brother, but in the enemy of our souls, who striveth to trouble our peace. And, if I be moved, he who drave that brother to afflict me will rejoice. But mine enemy shall not triumph over me; wherefore dismiss this our Brother, but for an example to others, let him be shut up in his own cell some few days.' Thus he desired to overcome by gentleness rather than to correct by the severity of justice."

Houghton would never speak of his own internal wrestlings. "He never complained to any man of the weight and vehemance of his trials, saving only that he once said to the Brother who dwelt in that cell wherein he had himself dwelt, 'Oh Brother! if such and such places could speak, they would declare somewhat unto you.' What shall I say more? At length by the co-operation in him of the grace of God he attained unto such perfection that he gained the crowns and ornaments of all the virtues, and they shone gloriously in him, as in a very bright mirror, and in a book written within and without. How great was his devotion was attested by his daily tears. For he had a singular grace of tears, and scarcely a day passed, whereon his cheeks were not made wet (with tears), but especially at the sacrifice of the most holy Mass. And sometimes even in the refectory, he was inebriated by so great and sweet richness of the love of

God, and devotion to Him that he could no longer refrain himself from weeping in the presence of all the Convent, but with overflowing tears he rose from the table and hasted to his cell, being full of contrition and devotion. Then entering his chamber he wept abundantly, the more freely inasmuch as he was in secret, during the whole time of dinner." Later on Chauncy tells us, many of the brethren, like their leader, were given to tears, some even to the extraordinary extent that they injured their sight with weeping. The community cannot clear itself from the charge of a certain morbidity.

The services and the regulations of the Order should be carried out, so Houghton impressed on the monks, with exactness and zest, down to every detail. It has already been said that the slowness of the singing in the midnight office is considered by the Carthusians to be a sacred duty. Towards the completest observance of this, Prior Houghton was ever vigilant, begging the monks to lengthen it to the uttermost. If they hurried the service, or avoided their duty, how then could they with justice "take, retain, and expend," the alms of their benefactors and founders? "Moreover he came sometimes during the divine office from his seat to the choristers, and admonished them that they should sing more slowly. If he heard them chanting faintly or in too low a voice, he said that he feared that the love of God was growing faint in their hearts, and that if they loved God as lukewarmly as they sang, God would soon spue them from His mouth, because they were neither cold nor hot. Also he besought them, that they should not distinguish days and seasons by singing in a low and soft voice on one day, and loudly on another. 'Even as no time' said he, 'has been appointed by our Father in heaven, when we may cease from the love of Him, but as we are bidden to love Him at all times, and unceasingly and with all our strength, so let us never for

our part desire to cease from His praise, but let our whole spirit be ever praising God, let sloth be put away, let us seek and buy from God gold tried in the fire, that even as the Angels in heaven, we may never fail in His praise, so that we may never be overtaken by weariness in His holy service.' Once also he departed from the church, to their confusion (as he related in the next Chapter that was held), when he heard them chanting in a very low voice. He was always vexed whensoever it befel that they sang discordantly or falsely." One Sunday night, one side of the choir, trusting to their memory, and singing in darkness, went wrong whilst singing Lauds. After that the Prior ordered that they must not trust to memory, which had been done partly because it was a relief to the eyes during the long vigil, but must always use their lights.

So zealously did the monks follow Houghton's exhortations, that the night office sometimes lasted three and a half hours, or an hour longer than was, and is, customary. "Truly the length, sweetness, and modulation of the singing stimulated the hearers to devotion, and copious floods of tears." The ardour of the monks, though they were not seeking an earthly reward, in a sense found one there, for they could feel that their light was shining abroad. It was commonly said in London, that he who would hear the service of God devoutly celebrated, should go to the house of the Carthusians. To the chapel came the "Ambassadors of other nations; thither the tribes went up, the tribes of the Lord, old men and young, to confess the name of the Lord."

The emotional fervour of the services is recorded as having a deep effect on some of those monks whose consciences could accuse themselves of lukewarmness in the execution of their duties. Father Nicholas Rawlins, "nimis tepidae conversationis," coming one day to Vespers, when he sought the chapel door was suddenly

stricken with blindness, which darkness continued so long as he endeavoured to cross the threshold. Unworthy to enter, he only recovered his sight when he had been led back to his cell. The same man, saying Mass, on another occasion, was seized with terror and trembling, and was forced to take off his vestments, and desist. Another monk also suffered similar extreme fears whilst in the chapel.

Prior Houghton ruled that in all things the monastery should be carried on according to the traditional interpretation of the statutes. As to any further austerities, which the individual wished to add, such as greater abstinence from food, he would forbid this to the young for some years after their entrance. For himself, it is noted that he kept, before his appointment as procurator, all the fast days on bread and water alone, but with the extra labour that this office brought to him, he thought himself justified in eating one fish on the fast days of the Order, though as to all the general fast days, he still remained strict. Abstinence days do not mean to the Carthusian what they do to the members of other less strict Orders, abstinence from meat, the prohibition against which is absolute for him, but it means a lessened diet. After the long midnight strain of matins, Houghton did not return to bed, " unless seriously ill," but rested on a bench with a log for a pillow, and a small cushion over it.

The Prior preached once a month to the convent, and his sermons are said to have had great effect. The words of one such exhortation would show that Houghton was fully aware of the general decay of the monastic bodies. He reminds his flock that many religious are mightily wearied when not occupied with worldly matters. This is not the monastic life, and above all it is not the way of the true Carthusian.

Chauncy asks, what can he say of the flock watched over by such a shepherd ? What could they do, but follow his

voice, save, he sadly continues, himself, whom he likens to a " sheep, lean and scabby, cut off from the fold."

" The ancient men were not wont to run abroad, hither and thither, and sat not in the streets but in their cells, communing together of the good things of religion, striving to effect the restoration of the lapsed, the pious reformation of the erring, and the same observance of the rule throughout all the Houses of the province ; and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel, to mortify their members upon earth. Behold the bed which is Solomon's ; eight and forty valiant men are about it of the most valiant of Israel. They all hold swords, being expert in war ; every man hath his sword upon his thigh, because of fear in the night ; even thirty Monks and eighteen Lay Brethren (their number remaineth imperfect, as I hope, until the year of Jubilee). They stood valiantly on the watch day and night, every man striving over himself for victory ; right pleasant it was to behold the vehemence of their fighting. Silence and solitude were most strictly observed there, so that if a Father or one that stood near, saluted any man in the cloisters as he went to the church or returned from it, or in any other place without his cell, he answered not, although he had leave so to do, save that he beckoned to him, that he should come to his cell, if he would speak with him. In no place was the custom of silence forsaken, nor did they even address one another save by permission. Before these tempests burst upon them, they never departed from the precinct of the House, not even the Lay Brethren. All the day long, save at the times of assembling and dispersing, the convent appeared almost as if no man dwelt therein, unless haply some Seculars arrived to the intent that they might have speech with any Brethren. As for the things which they beheld, they were at all times and places most careful ; whomsoever they met in the convent, they never looked upon any man, but passed him by with

bowed head ; and so they did even in the church. For they kept watch over cleanness of the heart and inward devotion, which things are wont to be driven out or hindered by such vanities. Tears were often in the eyes of many, and with some of them wellnigh perpetual ; and many a time they wept so abundantly that they could not read the lessons in the refectory or in the church, or perform the chanting, nay the eyes of some of them failed by reason of tears. There was among them a certain holy envy, not which of them should be Vicar or Proctor (for that they committed to the Father Prior), neither provoked they one another by asking which of them should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven (they left that to God), but rather which of them should attain nearest unto true mortification, which should most courageously deny himself, should think most humbly of himself, should most unfeignedly serve God, most strictly observe silence, most carefully keep his cell, most rarely find fault in the Chapter, should come first to church, and should stay there longest and most gladly, which should persevere most effectually in good works, and abound most in works of supererogation, and which should best keep the statutes and ceremonies of the Order. And this they ascribed to the Grace of God, and to their own diligence through Jesus Christ, to bring which things to perfection they watched day and night, piously encouraging and helping one another toward the attainment of them. . . . In their talkings together, and private assemblies one seldom heard any word that was idle or pertained to worldly matters. If any thoughtlessly uttered any such thing, he was immediately admonished by his hearer, whereby the mind of the offender was corrected. Very often Seculars returned from their cells saying with tears, ' Surely God is in this place.' Indeed, the Brethren were wont, as soon as the Seculars visited them, to beg them when they saluted them, that they would impart to them

no rumours nor any thing of the world; but, if there were any speech good for edification, they pondered it in their hearts, that they might imitate it, and might follow the example which may never be destroyed by forgetfulness, of our predecessor and holy Father Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. For he, as it is written in his Legend, when he was returning to England, after the building of the House of the venerable Fathers of the Great Charterhouse (la Grande Chartreuse), turned aside to lodge in a certain House of our Order, and was asked by one of the Brethren, as they talked together in common, concerning certain news. To whom St Hugh answered, 'O Father! to hear and report rumours may, indeed, be lawful to Bishops, but to Monks it is not lawful. Rumours ought not to enter cells or convents; it is not lawful to leave cities and bring rumours into solitudes.' This mighty voice sounded so loud in the ears of our Brethren, because the visits of Seculars were burdensome to them; even if that last tempest had not assailed us, we should have hindered such an entrance of Seculars into our convent with all our might."

Chauncy continues with a eulogy of discipline, and the practice down to minutiæ of the usages of the Order. "Straight was the way, and laid down clearly in writing, in such a manner that a fool could not wander therefrom. Such order and consonance adorn Religion; and where order is not, of a certainty there is dryness of devotion, continual trouble of mind, confusion of words and dishonour of holy Religion." He gives as an instance of their strictness that none dared drink, or eat fruit, after meals, except in absolute necessity. So perhaps the postprandial apple from the convent orchard, had been a custom in less strict days. Certainly it would seem, from the manner in which the gardeners of both Cromwell and the king scrambled for the convent's apple trees, after the Dissolution, that the orchard was of choice quality.

Of the devotion of the lay brothers to true religion, we hear that they vied in this to equal the fully professed. They strove to practise the austerities, and forgetfulness of the world, and endeavoured to keep humbleness of heart. "They were indeed true 'Conversi,' both in word and deed, converts entirely from the world to God. Most obedient of sons, dearest of brothers, most diligent of servants, full of most fatherly affection, most solicitous for the monks, consoling them not a little in their afflictions." We hear of them that to their less subtle hearts the Son of God made revelations from His adorable Father. For being very simple, and without worldly learning, the words they listened to in the church, and during the weekly meeting in the refectory, had free power to be transmuted in their imaginations. They became possessed of wonderful ideas, which were eagerly listened to as being inspired. Once more we are taken back into the atmosphere of a more primitive faith. Like Cædmon, it is the lowly to whom speech is given. Signs were believed to have been granted to some in answer to their devotions. Two brothers one day were lying prostrate in prayer. By one impulse they were both lifted up from the earth.

CHAPTER VII

SOME INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE CHARTERHOUSE, GOOD AND BAD

AMONG the fathers of the Charterhouse there were some of whom separate mention must be made. William Exmew held the office of vicar, or deputy to the prior, and he it was to whom Houghton made confession. He was exceptionally young when he entered on his office, being then only twenty. He was a man of brilliant intellect and learned in Latin, and what was more unusual, in Greek also, but he had become a true monk and "thought very humbly" of himself. Later on he became procurator.

Of another monk, Sebastian Newdigate, there is an account in the "Life of Jane Dormer," his sister, which has been edited by the Rev. J. Stevenson. This lady, watchful for her brother's welfare, he being at the court of Henry, and "not a little favoured by him," sent for Sebastian to warn him as to the dangers of the course that the king was steering, and to bid him avoid the infection of the royal circle. Her brother said Henry was not so bad as he was painted, but he evidently even then had in his mind the course he adopted afterwards, and promised to remember the warning if things became worse. "She answered, he should do well to remember it, and to perform it. 'I shall,' said he. 'I fear it,' said she, at which word, pausing a little, leaning his head upon his hand, he replied: 'Sister, what will you say, if the next you hear of me shall be that I am entered to be a monk in the Charterhouse?' 'A monk,' she saith, 'I fear

rather, I shall see thee hanged.' (Not many years after she saw both). 'I pray God keep thee a good Christian; for such perfection is fit for men of other metal than loose courtiers.' So smiling her brother took his leave and returned to the court."

Sebastian, though he had only replied by a smile, had the stuff in him to carry out his stern resolve, and the actions of the king becoming more and more repugnant to a good Catholic, he entered the London Charterhouse as a novice. His sister was astounded at the news. She had seen nothing in his character, or actions, as a thorough courtier, to suggest that the change could be lasting enough to enable him to carry out his vows with credit, and besides, "he could never digest fish, but if eaten, he would vomit it up again, and this Order must never taste flesh." Anxious for her brother, and anxious also for the credit of her religion, she hastened to see the Prior, that she might beg him to consider well, ere he admitted Sebastian. But the Prior was happy in his new convert, who had already given promise of a true conversion of the remarkable courtier into the notable Carthusian. He called the novice to see his sister, and he being come, "tears gave her not leave to speak, . . . his gesture, his retired speech, his grave humility and modesty, amazed her; he so demeaning himself, as if he had been all his life in the monastery. With this she rested so content, as she could wish no more." So Sebastian Newdigate served his noviciate, and became, and remained, a true monk to his vows, and afterwards sealed them with his blood.

Maurice Chauncy, the chronicler of the convent, had only recently joined when the troubles began. He, too, was of good birth, taking descent from Chauncy of Chauncy, whose name appears on the Battle Abbey Roll, a knight who took his title from a village in Picardy, near Amiens. Born in Hertfordshire, he studied at Oxford,

and entered the law at Gray's Inn. It is said that on his returning from London for the Christmas vacation, his father disliked his gay apparel, and the young Maurice seems to have been struck with his remonstrance. On his return to London, going to the other extreme, he became a Carthusian. He was a devout monk, and if at last he did yield to the king, he would probably have died bravely, like the others, if the strain had come to him earlier.

But even among such a noble band the devil, as Chauncy tells us, could sow tares; where there were many very good, there were some very bad. There was Thomas Salter, very willing to tell tales out of school, always pointing out the faults of others, but silent as to any of his own. This man was the greatest traitor in the monastery. He often went, without leave, beyond its walls, and undoubtedly, later on, curried favour with Cromwell by supplying him with information. He was at length, "after frequent backslidings," imprisoned, "lest he take again to flight," and whilst thus in durance, and in the charge of a lay brother, his custodian, watching, so the story goes, saw that he was being assailed terribly by demons, which were attacking him so sorely that unless the brother, returning good for evil, had come to his assistance with prayers and devout acclamations, the poor sinner had been strangled. But Salter, as will be seen later, though he was, as regards his convent, a traitor, yet he could defend his theological position, and probably found justification in his conscience for his changed mind, even if he could not for the ways in which he sought favour with the other side.

Father George longed after the fleshpots of Egypt, and one day, wearied of the service, he left the chapel and wandered to the chapter-house. Behold, the figure on the crucifix there turned its back upon him, and the monk went crazy with terror and despair. This monk proved

impossible to reclaim, and he was wisely given a dispensation to become a secular canon in the West of England, "and did very well there."

John Darley was "exceedingly oppressed with many temptations." "On a certain day he murmured because he was not filled, and because the food wherewith he was served at dinner pleased neither his eyes nor his appetite; and he said among other things, that he would rather eat toads than fish of that kind. Lo! a wonder. The righteous Lord kept not back his desire from him. For he sent him so great an abundance of toads, that they filled the pavement of his cell in heaps, crawling and leaping after him whithersoever he went about his cell. They were his companions and guests at table, leaping even into his dish, and they were moreover his bedfellows. If he cast one into the fire, immediately it leapt forth unhurt; if he slew them, others took their places, and the number of them was increased daily, and they continued with him in his cell for the space of a whole month, nor could he in any manner deliver himself from them. But it befell that he caught one of them with tongs and would roast it in the fire, whereupon there arose so great a stench from it that he must needs give up his design. Moreover certain others in the convent perceived the stench from afar. But the toads abode in his garden for the space of three months; and the Brother himself was wont to tell this matter very often with great sorrow of heart." The low lying position of the Charterhouse would be damp enough to breed sufficient toads to act on the uneasy imagination of Father Darley.

There was one monk present during the early part of the troubles, who, though Chauncy does not mention him among the unworthy brethren, must have been an unstable Carthusian, though from a secular point of view the most remarkable man of them all. This man was Andrew Boorde, and the record of his life is that of a rolling stone,

and not of a recluse whose life should be bounded by the cloister wall. Born in the latter years of the fifteenth century, he had been admitted to the order when under age, that is according to his own account. But he received a dispensation from his vows to become Suffragan Bishop of Chichester, as to which post, he frankly said afterwards, "that he never did execute the authority." There is, indeed, some doubt as to what he did next; probably he went abroad to study medicine. In any case he claims that he was physician to Sir Robert Drury, and attended no less a patient than the Duke of Norfolk, and possibly the king, in 1530. His medical attainments must have procured him a further dispensation to go abroad for study. Certainly he did not abide closely in his cell all this time. Frankness was not the least of his virtues, and later in his life he wrote: "The truth is, that when Dan George was dispensed with the religion" (which sounds alarming till we remember the mediæval use of the word), "I and another was dispensed with all consyderyng I can not, nor never could, live solitary, and I amongst you enclosed in a close air might never have my health." The physician knew his own complaint and could prescribe the remedy. Somewhere about this time, living then apparently in the London Charterhouse, he pours out his mind to the Prior of Hinton, an old member of the same convent. "I desire you to pray for me, and to pray all your convent to pray for me for much confidence I have in your prayers, and if I wist Master Prior of London wold be good to me, I wold see you more sooner than you be ware of. I am not able to byd the rugorosite of your religion. If I might be suffered to do what I might, without interruption, I can tell what I had to do, for my heart is ever to your religion and I love it, and all the persons in them." The meaning of this outburst would appear to be that it is the "rugorosite"

of the Prior of London's interpretation of the rule that Boorde cannot stand. Otherwise he wishes to appear as loving his religion. He must have been an inmate of the London Charterhouse for periods anyway, as he takes the oath, in 1534, as a monk of that convent. A study of his letters, as edited by the entertaining Dr Furnivall, certainly makes it difficult to imagine on what terms he can have been allowed to be there. Medical studies must have been the cloak, and Boorde was a clever enough man to have conformed satisfactorily during his, perhaps brief, visits. He was condemned by the General Chapter of 1532, as having thrice apostatised. The later life of Boorde may be briefly given here. His continual trouble is the obtaining and attesting of various dispensations from the observance of his duties to his Order: his travels indeed can have spared him little time for monastic life. The extraordinarily roaming character of the man can be shown by an incident which he relates. He was, as he tells the tale, at the university of Orleans, when, "casually going over the bridge into the towne, I dyd mete with IX Englyshe and Skotyshe parsons going to saint Compostell" (the famous Spanish pilgrimage place in Galicia). "I knowyng theyr pretence, advertyzed them to returne home to England, saying that I had rather to goe V tymes out of England to Rome—and so I had in dede—than once to go from Orlyance to Compostel . . . with other wordes I had to them of exasperacyon." But they would persevere, and Boorde, "havinge pitie they should be cast a way," he claims, but one suspects from the spirit of adventure in himself as well, promptly despatched his business in Orleans, and went with them. "But in retornyng thorow Spayn, for all the crafte of Physycke that I coulde do, they dyed, all by eatynge of frutes and drynkynge of water, the whyche I did ever refrayne my self."

When Thomas Cromwell came to power, Boorde saw

the chance of a more effective departure from his religious habit, and Cromwell, in his turn, saw in the monk a useful man to glean information from the continent. Through the latter's aid Boorde was despatched on further travels, with a roving commission to take the pulse of Europe as to its appreciation of the methods of the English king. Boorde writes later, from Bordeaux, that he has "perlustratyd Normandy, France, Gascony and Bayon; ye regyons also of Castyle, Byscay, Spayne, paarte of Portyngale, and returnyed thorow Arogon, Naverne." He has to report that "few frendys Englond hath in theys partes of Europe." Boorde continued his travels through France, and he reports that here he has found many holding by the king, even the "reverend father of the head Charterhouse, a famous clerk." But it is clear that Boorde must have been still ignorant of the length to which affairs had gone, or he told an amazing tale to have obtained such an opinion from that quarter.

This was in the summer of 1535, and when Boorde returned later on to England, he saw which way the wind had set in, and promptly wrote to Cromwell, "commynttyng me fully in to goddis handes and yours, to do with me whatt yow wyll." The shrewd doctor knew what he was about, and how to safeguard himself both for the next world and this. Cromwell sends him off again, and from this time forth he may be said to have ceased even pretending to be a Carthusian. Next April he writes from "Skotlond, in a lytle unyversyte or study namyd Glasco, where I study and practyce physyk, as I have done in dyverce regyons and provynces, for ye sustentacyon off my lyvyng." But though a doctor to the outward eye, he was also there as a spy, and he has to report that there are in this country many adversaries of the king, speaking of him many "parlyous wordes." He is passing himself for a Scot, and has gotten to know all their minds and "shortly to conclude, trust you no skott."

Even in the sixteenth century the hardy northener is making his way to England and to wealth. Boorde exclaims, "Would to Jesu, that you had never an alien in your realme, specyally Skottes, for I never knew alien goode to Ynglonde, exceppt they knew profytt and lucre shold come to them."

In the same letter Boorde refers to the time when he "was in greatt thraldom, both bodyly and goostly, yow of your gentylnes sett me att liberte and clernes of conscyence. . . . When I was keppt in thrawldom in ye charterhowse, and knew neither the kynges noble actes nor yow; then, stultycyusly thorow synystrall wordes, I dyd as many of that order doth . . . for I could never know no thyng of no maner of matter, butt only by them, and they wold cause me write full incypyently to the prior of London, when he was in the Tower . . . for the which I trust your mastersheep hath pardonyd me. . . . I pray god that you may provyde a goode prior for that place of London; for truly ther be many wylfull and obstynatt yowng men that stondyth too much in their owne consaytt, and wyll not be reformed, butt playeth ye chyldryn; and a good prior would serve them lyk chyldryn." This was the man who had been led by an injudicious choice in youth into the community of John Houghton, for a short time at any rate. With this maligning of the members of his old Order who had the courage to stand for what they believed, let us leave the correspondence of Andrew Boorde. His life ended in a cloud of a most shameful accusation, from which it is difficult, or impossible, to clear him.

The writings that came from Boorde are as un-Carthusian as they could well be. He is said to have been the original "Merry Andrew," though this is possibly incorrect. Out of the varied observations of his travels, he has given us a racy guide to the nations and countries of Europe. Of the Frenchman we are told:

"I am a Frenchman, lusty and stout;
My rayment is jagged, and kut round about;
I am ful of new invencions,
And dayly I do make new toyes and fashions;
All nacions of me example do take,
Whan any garment they go about to make."

Then there is his book of instructions how to secure health, with minute and most sensible directions where and how to build your house, and what to do in eating, drinking, sleeping, and waking. Excellent reading it all is, from its wise and witty language, though, as befits the age, outspoken. To this follows a "Dyetary," and the quondam Carthusian discourses learnedly concerning all manner of delectable foods.

"Beefe is a good meate for an Englysshe man, so be it the beeste be yonge, and that it be not kowe-flesshe."

"A yonge fatte pygge in physicke is syngulerly praysed, yf it be wel orderyd in the rostynge, the skyn not eaten."

"Crayme the which dothe not stande longe on the mylke, and sodden with a lytell suger, is nowrysshynge."

He would even give advice on the management of women: "Let every man please his wife in all matters, and displease her not, but let her have her own will, for that she will have, who so ever say nay."

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST TRIAL OF THE CONVENT

AMONG the many brilliant activities with which Henry the Eighth filled the first twenty years of his reign, nothing gave that versatile monarch more pleasure than his ability to prove himself a faithful son of the Holy Church. His title of Defender of the Faith was a treasured possession. It would have been difficult, in 1527, to have foreseen, that before ten years more had passed an Englishman who held the Pope to be Christ's vicar of the Church Catholic was to so believe at peril of his life. And this change was to come about so quickly, not by the working of the reformation leaven in the people, though this was present, but was to be engineered by the subtle, though resolute, changes in the king's own mind.

Henry meditated on the dispensation of Providence—that a male heir should be denied him, that the chief thing requisite to the fulfilment of the designs of this paragon of all kingly, knightly, and theological virtues should be wanting, and it was borne in on him that his marriage was accursed by heaven. There was in Henry a strain of superstitious self-confidence which could quickly invest such an idea in his mind with all the panoply of certitude. That most mysterious movement which he called his "conscience" could be relied on to make him certain, in his own magnificent fashion, of the absolute rightness of many an action which to the cynic seems to be solely inspired by the clear sight of the subtle diplomat. So now he was soon convinced that his connection with Katharine was contrary to divine law, and it shows the strength of

Henry's attachment to the Catholic position that the progress of his conscience delayed so long arriving at the necessity of his taking a more independent line in order that the "divine will" might be more adequately interpreted. When the papal legate arrives in England to examine into the vexed question, he has no hesitation in reporting to the Pope, after his first interview, that in this matter Henry is more learned than a great theologian or canonist. The king has told him plainly that he only wants a declaration as to the validity or invalidity of the marriage, but it is no less obvious to the legate that Henry always presupposed its invalidity; and "I believe that an angel descending from heaven would be unable to persuade him otherwise," concludes the, perhaps, amused Cardinal. To Henry's mind an angel had descended from heaven, and it was to his splendid powers of turning these ministers to his conscience towards the desired channels that the transfer of the supremacy of the English church from pope to king was mainly due. For the spiritual side of the Reformation he had never much sympathy. But, master of his nation, he found few to thwart his will, and of these the Carthusians of London were to the fore.

It is characteristic of Henry's mind that, when proceeding to press his claim to the supremacy over the church, he should have gone back to base his position on the old statute of Præmunire. He loved to justify his steps by formal legality as well as by conscience. In 1530 the convocations of the clergy are made to buy off their pardon for the breach of the old fourteenth-century law by the payment of a huge sum of money. And still more, when this point is yielded, and the clergy come suing for pardon, and promising to pay, Henry will not accept the money, and grant the pardon, till he receives the acknowledgment that he is Supreme Head of the English Church. The Church hesitated, but at last consented to call Henry

" their singular protector, only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head." With this the king was content for the time. A year later more was asked of them, and yielding again, though no doubt reluctantly, by the act known as the Submission of the Clergy, the Church in England surrendered to the king's power to fix their constitution, canons, and doctrine. Henceforth, as Martin Luther said, " What Squire Harry willed was to be law for Englishmen, for life or death." Many of his subjects were to find how difficult it was to follow the path of his orthodoxy. On one day, in a later year, three men suffered the death of traitors, in one corner of Smithfield, for maintaining the Pope's authority, while in the other corner faggots waited for those who had erred on the Protestant side. Two days before, the head of Thomas Cromwell had fallen on Tower Green. The man who could direct all these things was the man whom the Carthusians were to dare to disobey.

The day after the Submission of the Clergy, May 15, 1532, Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship. It was the turning-point of the reign. No good Catholic could permit his spiritual chieftain to be a secular king. A year later the king publicly announced his marriage with Anne Boleyn and stood in open revolt against the papal jurisdiction.

The time of trial of the Carthusians had now arrived, and the beginning of it was marked by the coming to full power of Thomas Cromwell. It is difficult to believe that this man was truly inclined to the Protestant faith. Miles Coverdale claimed that he had received from him " godly communication " on spiritual things, but the phrase makes us wonder. He was to prove himself, however, a veritable hammer of the old faith, and in him all action against the Carthusians centred. The time of his power was the nearest approach, in English history, to a tyrannical reign of terror.

Apart from the world as were the Carthusians, they cannot have been unaware of the manner in which the actions of the king were causing the strict Catholic to tremble for the future. Meditations on this may have acted on the susceptible minds of the monks. However this may be, portents did not fail to warn the convent of the terrors to follow. In the summer of 1533, after Henry had finally burnt his boats, and announced his marriage with Anne Boleyn, the appearance of a comet is recorded. All Europe saw it in the sky, but to the emotions of the Carthusians in London it seemed specially to mark them out. To them its rays sought clearly and plainly towards their house. The whole convent, on a certain night, issuing from the chapel, after the long strain of the midnight office, saw clearly, says Chauncy, that the rays flashed and sparkled through a lofty tree in the cemetery, and glowed and struck upon the church, and especially upon the tower where hung the bells whose voice was the link which bound their life together in its devotions. Such a sight they had never seen before, says the careful Chauncy.

Another and more dreadful sign appeared to the Prior as on another night he left the church after the second nocturn, and entered the cemetery to say a short prayer for departed brethren. Suspended in the air he there beheld a great globe, glowing and blood red. "At the sight his heart was sore afraid," and he fell to the ground. Later, on the same night, another brother, in the garden of his cell, when he had returned from matins, also saw the vision, "of either a similar globe, or the very same sphere." Other and more material signs came, which could be interpreted by the superstitious as forecasts of evil.

"Now when this perilous time was drawing nigh, other things happened that were no less portentous; for two swarms of flies appeared, of which one was very black,

and they were exceedingly hideous, like to those flies which are bred from the dung of beasts of burden ; but the flies of the other swarm were of divers colours and longish, like to them that hover in thickets of reeds over the waters."

This was the last year of peace for the convent. A few weeks after the monks had seen the comet the Pope finally launched his excommunication against Henry. In December the king replied with the decision of his council that the Pope was only Bishop of Rome, and as such had no power more than another bishop, and in the following March Henry obtained from Parliament the Act of Succession, affirming, against the opinion of the Pope, the legitimacy of Anne Boleyn's marriage. When Sir Thomas More heard of the marriage of Boleyn, he said to William Roper, " God give grace, son, that these matters within a while be not confirmed with oaths." It now indeed became necessary for every man to decide whether he could take this oath. Those who held to that organisation of the Holy Church which had held sway during mediæval Europe were thwarting the will of a dangerous tyrant, and doing this at the peril of their lives. As yet, indeed, no doctrine or ritual of the Church had been challenged. It was only the exceptional man who would hesitate to compromise in the slightest degree the spiritual unity, that communion with the whole Catholic world, which expressed their own religious necessities. So, when the commissioners went round to collect the oaths of submission to the legality of the marriage with Anne, the vast majority of the clergy " swore gladly, without sticking." Even undoubted holders of the Catholic faith in its entirety, such as Thomas More, were willing to admit the realm's own authority, through its parliament and king, to fix to whom the crown would descend, and even whom the king should marry. What More would not swear to was the preamble,

which declared, against the considered judgment of the Pope, that the marriage with Katharine was null and void. It was, in a sense, a curious position. It admitted that the king might be permitted by secular law to commit legalised bigamy. But account must be taken of that immense respect which the Tudor subject had for the royal power, a respect engendered by the anarchy during the Wars of the Roses. This was the dilemma of such as More and the Carthusians — a willingness to let worldly affairs go as the nation decided, balanced against the belief that the spiritual tie should remain unimpaired.

Henry found absolutely no organised opposition from the monastic bodies, save from the stricter section of the Friars, the Observants, as they were called, and from the Carthusians. The Friars were a preaching body, and as such came to grips the first. Many were imprisoned, and the Order eventually suppressed. The Carthusians led very different lives from the Friars. They did not preach, and only asked to live within their own walls; but they could influence many who came to them to confess, and those perhaps some of the most important. It was necessary that they should not be allowed to make even a silent protest, situated as they were at the gates of the city of London.

Cromwell early realised the importance of securing their submission. He was in the habit of jotting down notes as to the matters requiring his attention, and on one of these scraps of paper, and in his own hand, is the significant note: "To go to the Charterhouse myself." Later in the year comes a further "Remembrance": "To seek out the name of the Prior of the Charterhouse." Every effort must be made to win these redoubtable champions, and one can well believe that Cromwell would rather have secured their submission than proceed to extremities with these recluses, whose holy reputation

must have gone far abroad. Throughout the following proceedings he seems to have made many personal attempts to convince or overawe them.

When the commissioners did come, we learn from Chauncy of the reception they received. The Prior's reply was, that he would not, nor ought he, or any of his, interfere in the royal affairs. It was not for him to say whom the king might marry, or divorce, so long as his own opinion was not demanded. The commissioners, of course, would not accept this evasion, and required an explicit affirmation on oath of the illegality of the first and the legality of the second marriage. Faced with this, Houghton definitely avowed that he could not understand how a marriage celebrated with the rites of the Church, and so long respected, could be thus made void. This declaration had been made in the presence and with the approval of the whole convent, assembled for that purpose, and the answer of the authorities was the committal of the Prior, and the Procurator, Humphrey Middlemore, to the Tower. Here the efforts of the conforming Catholic clergy were concentrated on them, and they were at length, Chauncy tells us, " by certain honest and learned men," persuaded that the cause was not one for which they might lawfully suffer death. They were willing to swear, " sub conditione," according to the act, and in consequence were, after a month's imprisonment, allowed to return to the convent, where the monks joyfully received them. The phrase, " sub conditione," refers to the saving clause, which up to the present does not appear to have been forbidden by the authorities, that the oath was taken, to obey the law of the realm, " as far as the law of God permits."

Perhaps Houghton, taking the sin, if it were a sin, on himself, to save the convent from destruction, had taken a form of oath which was against his conscience, or else a different form was now proposed for the commissioners,

coming to receive the consent of the whole convent, went back empty-handed. A second time they came, and secured the oaths of the Prior and the Procurator, and four other monks. A third time came the commissioners, this time significantly accompanied by the sheriff and his officers, all armed, and on this day the rest of the convent gave the required oath. It would appear from this that Prior Houghton was indeed urging on the convent, and was willing to take himself, an oath which was repugnant to the bulk of the monks. But there may have been another reason for the oaths being taken on different days. It is at least curious, if it were only conscience that caused the delay, that the weak brothers (Thomas Salter, Andrew Boorde, and Nicholas Rawlins, and perhaps John Darley may be included) did not swear till the later date. In such a matter, where the Prior led they are not likely to have lagged behind. If, in this, Houghton was willing to allow a larger right to the secular power in matters that pertained more particularly to it, he will not thereby lose the respect of posterity. He was indeed standing for a principle that is not likely to lose strength in the course of history. His answer was to be very different when faced with the demand that he should accept the jurisdiction of King Henry in spiritual matters.

Chauncy's account of this preliminary searching of the consciences of the monks is this :

" But when that oath was demanded from the convent there was no small trouble among them, and when our good Father saw it he said, ' Our hour is not yet come, dearest Fathers. But in the same night wherein Brother Proctor and I were released, I dreamed that I should not escape so quickly, but that I should be brought back thither and that the same prison would receive me within the space of a year, wherein also I shall finish my course. There remaineth therefore some other thing which shall shortly be set before us, as I deem (although no confidence

is to be placed in dreams) ; howbeit let us live, so that God be not grieved, as long as we can.' . . . We therefore being delivered, as we hoped, from the belly of this monstrous whale, without wound to conscience, began to rejoice with Jonah over the gourd upon our booths, forasmuch as it overshadowed us and protected us from the rain, the whirlwind and the heat, so that we sat down safe in its shadow, without any heavier tribulation."

Certainly the Charterhouse had not given satisfaction to the Government. They were still being watched, and it is now that the weak brother, Thomas Salter, turning king's evidence, supplied information to Cromwell. Also Thomas Bedyll had visited the convent on the Friday after Corpus Christii day, and to him Salter claims that he had given " true information," for which, and for his visits to Cromwell, he is now persecuted by his " uncharitable prior and brethren." He writes that unless Cromwell will protect him, he will be brought to some miserable end, as divers men of his Order have been of late years. No wonder, he says, that many have fled from the Order over the sea. Salter wishes to be released from his convent, and to this end he tells Cromwell that " a certain monk here, being shut alone in his cell day and night, fell into such despair that he would have killed himself if sure watch had not been kept." This monk, he adds, was discharged, and is now a canon in the west country doing very well, " but this indiscreet prior that we now have, rather than release me, would bring me to some miserable end, as a monk lately was in the north country. His name was Dan Christopher Huddeswelle. He was buried in a dung hill."

The imprisonment of doubting Thomas Salter was perhaps not a very strict one, if he was able to send letters of this kind out of the convent, and he does not seem to have been confined till he had made several visits to Crom-

well. It may well have been considered undesirable, matters being as they were, to allow him freedom to go to the enemy. There is a further letter from Salter with more scandals, and a series of "lamentable annotations taken forth of our rule." In these he certainly shows that he has lost touch with the spirit of his Order, and is very possibly genuinely sympathetic with the newer faith. If it be not granted that there is room for some to be taken from the world for the secluded meditations of the Carthusians, there is much truth in Salter's annotation, "that Christ commanded us to preach his word to every creature; our rule commands us only to preach among ourselves, so we deny Christ. Our Lord commanded his disciples when he sent them forth to take such meat and drink as was set before them; our statutes command us never to eat flesh, and we cannot have it, even if the physician say it will save our lives. Thus I cannot see but we have professed to be men killers." Not long ago, he writes, a monk was ill; the doctor said he could save him if he might diet him as he wished. Answer was made that he might not leave the house nor eat flesh, "so the good brother was cast away for lack of comfort." Again, Christ says that the sick must be visited, but the Carthusian must not go abroad. Salter also complains—perhaps it was a more personal grievance—that if they speak anything against the Prior's mind they are threatened with imprisonment, and if confined they are treated like thieves in Newgate.

As to the tales out of school, we hear once more of the monk buried in a dunghill. "The prior and his convent will defend it as much as they can, but I think it is not lawful to bury their brother in a dunghill for breaking of a poor ceremony." Salter also relates a revelation, which came to the sacristan of the London house at the hour when Father Batmanson died. This father was seen, together with William Tynbygh, interceding for the

Carthusian Order at the feet of the Holy Trinity. To them the answer was made that there were matters which must be amended. The brethren must not eat from pewter, but have dishes of wood. They must only have one change of habit beyond what they wear, and the habit itself was of too fine a quality, though, as Salter pathetically remarks, it was surely cheap enough, and must be changed for the very cheapest, that is blanket cloth. This authoritative sumptuary edict even materialised in the production of a sample of the specified stuff. "And for a testimonial of the same, there was a little piece of blanket cloth brought to the Charterhouse of Sheen to demonstrate the same revelation, but whether the same piece of cloth was sent from heaven by some angel or not, surely I cannot tell; but the very truth is that the proctor of Sheen, whose name was Baylie, did show the same piece of cloth to his prior and to all his convent." One may perhaps read into the last passage that Dan Thomas Salter had not lost his sense of humour by his imprisonment. His letters, whilst they fully prove it would have been wiser of the Carthusians to have released from their Order one so out of sympathy with it, and one who was suffering for his conscience' sake, also show the fanatical zeal with which their organisation was kept up in a time of general relaxation.

There is another letter, written probably about this time, which, though coming from a monk of the Charterhouse of Sheen, and not of London, so expresses the feelings of the moderate man, that it can well be given here. It comes from John Pyzaunt, and he is writing to his friend Sir John Allen, Alderman of London, and one of the king's councillors, and it is clear from his postscript that he writes with the approval of his Prior. Pyzaunt says that ". . . . Yt ys not unknown to your Mastershyp what trobyll our relygyon ys yn and ys lyk thoroughe sume off us to be utterly destroyd. And thys thyng I thynk your

Mastershyp may sumewhat helpe yff yt plesse you off your Goodnes. Consyderyng the gret love and famyly-aryte whyche ys betwen Mr secretary and you and also that yourselff ys on the kyngs most honerabyll councell. Not that I wold desyr you to specke any thyng for us except we shuld sumwhat enclyn to our princes mynd for I thynk that shuld not preuayll but so yt ys that I know many off us whyche wyll gladly obbey the Kyngse grace in thys poynt forasmuche as yt ys not agynst the scryptur off God. And off that other part ther be sume whyche wyll I thynk verely rather dey and the causse ys non other but a lytyll scrypulosyte off conscyence and yff they shuld grant to anythyng ageynst thât conscyence they wold have suche remorsse that they wold (I know well) dy for sorow and I thynk desper off ther saluatyon and so peradventur dy both body and sowle whyche wer grettly to be lamentyd. Yt ys an oppynyon inveterat in ther harts whyche ys imposybyll to be pluckyd owt sodenly but in process (of) tym many thynge hathe cume to passe whyche in the begynyng semyd to men very straung. For thes men I wold desyr you in Cryste to specke sume gode word that they myght be suffryd and borne wythe. . . . They wyll do nor say nothyng that shall sound or may be enterpretyd anythyng contrary to the Kynges perogatyve, no and thoughe they wold they can not. Yff yt plesse you off your innate Goodnes at my por instaunce for the love of God to accomplyshe thys our nedffull request ye bynd the holl relygyon to pray for you perpetually. Sir, I am over bold to wryt unto you thys long letter rashly whyche I shuld rather have done with delyberacion but nede knowthe no law and our causse ys so urgent as knowythe God who have you enclosed in hys custody and send you suche helthe as your selfe wold wyshe. Amen. Wrytyn at Shene thys present tewsday.

By your servant and dayly bedsmane,

JOHN PYZAUNT.

and yff yt plesse you sumtyme for your plesur to walk over our hows ye shall be hertely welcome to our Father prior and have suche por cher as he can make you."

It would seem that Allen handed on this letter to his friend Cromwell, but the moderate man, as ever, could not stem the tide of change.

CHAPTER IX

THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HOUGHTON

So the year 1534 went past, with trial and perhaps hesitation, to those who thought the Catholic position the true one. In November came the terrible blow to the faithful of the definite pronouncement of Henry, a secular king, to be the one and only supreme head, under Christ, of the Church in England. At the same time as the parliament gave this honour they gave also, in an Act of Treasons, the power of dealing as traitors with those who attempted to deprive the king of any of his just titles. The saving clause, "as far as the law of God permits," was no longer to be permitted. There was still no actual ritual or doctrine of the Catholic Church challenged. Henry claimed to be its faithful son. But to those who believed in its union under Peter's successor at Rome the position was now clear. They were face to face with a temporal power armed to retaliate with the most terrible penalties. Only absolute renunciation of the union with Rome, and, through Rome, with Catholic Christendom—or death.

Prior Houghton assembled the convent and told the monks what might be expected. To him the trial came with a special urgency, as he felt himself to be responsible for the souls of those under his leadership, and this especially so from the general youth of the monks. In the community there were about twenty who were under thirty-eight years of age. To the monks he said, "How many young men there are among you." To those now living in innocency it might prove that, thrown back into

the world, they might relapse into the flesh. There were some perhaps from whose hearts luxury had not been so completely banished that they could resist the contact with the world.

" ' What shall I say therefore, Brethren, or what shall I do, seeing that I may perform no good thing for them whom God hath given me, until the eternal judgment ? ' And there was a great weeping among them. Then they all said with a firm heart and with one voice, ' Let us die all in our innocency ; heaven and earth shall testify for us, that we are destroyed wrongfully from off the earth.'

" The Father replied sorrowfully, ' O that it may be so, that one death may make us alive, whom one life hath kept dead ; but I deem not that they will bring such good to us, or such evil to themselves. Behold, many of you are of noble lineage, but this as I suppose they will the rather do ; you that are elder and me they will deliver to death, and these younger they will set free to flee unto a land not their own. Wherefore if my consent alone suffice for this thing, I will commit myself to the mercy of God, and I will be accursed for these my brethren, even for the least, and I will consent to the King's will, if it may be done lawfully, that I may preserve them from so many and great dangers to come. But if on the other hand they have decreed that all do consent, and if the death of one man (lest the whole people perish) profit nothing, God's will be done, and I pray that all alike may be ready to be offered in sacrifice.' "

Dom Hendriks says as to this : " Chauncy thought his [Houghton's] fidelity was undergoing a dreadful trial ; on the one hand was the love of the Creator, whom he would rather die than offend, and on the other was the fear of losing the souls committed to his charge. Of course the love of God gained the victory ; and he resolved never to deny the Vicar of Christ, even should the preservation of the Charterhouse depend on it. Perhaps

Chauncy was mistaken, and the cause of Father Houghton's interior struggle was the thought that some of the community would not have the courage to lay down their lives."

The account of the manner in which the monks prepared themselves for the trial of their faith is, as given by Chauncy, of so touching and vivid a character that a long quotation of his words must be given here.

"Then he persuaded them to prepare their hearts for God by a general confession, and he gave leave that each one of them should choose a confessor for himself, even whomsoever in the convent he would, and he gave them all authority of plenary absolution. 'And when this is done,' said he, 'seeing that in many things we all offend, and that to every one of us his brother is a debtor, and also because without charity neither death nor life availeth anything, we will on the day thereafter be reconciled one unto another, and on the third day we will celebrate a mass of the Holy Ghost, that we may obtain His Grace, and may have strength to fulfil His will and good pleasure.'

"Wherefore when the first day was past, and the most wholesome counsel of our Father was fulfilled, and when the day of reconciliation was come, first our Father preached a long and most devout sermon concerning charity, patience, and steadfast cleaving unto God in adversity, treating of the first five verses of the Psalm, 'O God, Thou hast cast us out and destroyed us' . . . ending his sermon thus, 'It is better for us to receive a brief punishment here for our fault, than to be reserved for eternal torments.' Then he said, 'Dearest Fathers and Brethren, what ye see me do, that do ye also, I beseech you.' And immediately he arose and went to the senior of the House who was sitting next unto him, and bending his knees before him, he humbly entreated pardon and indulgence for all his transgressions and sins

against him howsoever committed in thought, word or deed. And in the same manner the other behaved himself unto him, seeking pardon for his sins. And our Father proceeded thus first through his own choir, and then through the second choir, making the same request of them man by man, until he came to the last Lay Brother, wailing most bitterly over each of them. And in like manner they all followed him in their turns, each seeking pardon severally from each. O what sorrow was there, what tears were shed! truly a voice was heard then in Rama, lamentation and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, refusing to be comforted and with tears that could not be dried, foreseeing the evils that threatened them. From that day forth whoso had looked our holy Father in the face (which indeed before these things had never been changed by any kind of event), he, I say, would assuredly have known by what a stroke his heart had then been smitten. For his countenance and the changing of his colour declared the inward agony of his mind. For the man was so compassed with fear and horror of the body, that it was manifest to them that looked upon him what sorrow he had now in his heart.

"Now, when the third day was come when the Mass of the Holy Ghost was to be celebrated in the convent, the devout Father Prior prepared himself to perform it. And at the time of this Mass, the almighty and merciful God deigned to work marvellous and ineffable things. It is good to keep close the secret of a King, but it is honourable to reveal and to confess the works of God; wherefore I will make known the truth, and I will not hide the dark saying from you. At that conventual Mass, after the most holy elevation, a certain thin whistling of the air, sounding indeed outwardly but a little, and yet working mightily within, was perceived, and heard by the greater number with their bodily ears, and was felt and caught up

by all with the ears of the heart. The venerable Father Prior, touched by its sweet melody and sound, was overpowered with so great a fulness of divine illumination and abundance of tears that for a long time he could not proceed with the office of the Mass. The convent also stood astounded, hearing indeed a voice and feeling a marvellous and sweet operation in their hearts, but knowing not whence it came or whither it went. But their hearts rejoiced, being filled with that most holy breath, and they perceived well, that God was surely there, Who also revealed His secret things to some of them, dividing to each severally as He would. And even as it is read in the Book of Numbers, where the apportioning of the Spirit to the Seventy is related, that the Spirit rested also upon two others who remained in the camp, and went not out to the tabernacle, so it happened with our Brethren, for the grace that was administered and poured out at the time of this Mass was shared also by certain Lay Brethren, who were in chapels nigh unto the choir, with marvellous sweetness, at the same time whereat it was poured out upon the monks.' "

Thus then did the brethren of the Charterhouse conduct themselves whilst waiting for the blow to fall; as Froude has said, " Not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred, who in the summer morning sate combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ."

To return to the other side of the battlefield. There is a note in Thomas Cromwell's " Remembrances " as to " What the king will have done at the Charterhouses of London and Richmond." This was a reference to the new Supreme Head as to his spiritual jurisdiction. There is on the same sheet a further note, no less significant of the new temporal hand which had fallen on the Church. Cromwell reminds himself, " To remember all the jewels

THE CHAPEL.

of all the monasteries in England, and specially the cross of emeralds at Pauls."

Efforts continued to be made to convince the Carthusians of their error, and the matter was still allowed to be argued. One time at least Houghton was called to a conference at the Tower, Cromwell being then present, with Foxe, the future martyrologist, and Hugh Latimer to support him in the theological attack. But as it turned out, it was the secular who was to have the final voice. Houghton wished to plead three things in support of the Catholic position. The first was that every doctor acknowledged that the keys were given to Peter, and therefore to a cleric. How then could a layman, like Henry, take charge of them? But here Cromwell interposed with the brusque question, "You would make the king a priest then?" Henry had the keys, whether lay or cleric, and would keep them. Perhaps Cromwell also would have hinted that if needful Henry could be both king and cleric, even as the Kaiser to-day is in holy orders as well as secular king. The Prior's other arguments remained unknown; he may have recognised that his opponents would not grant even the most preliminary premises.

As the spring wore on the Prior of Beauvale, Father Robert Lawrence, came up to the London house, and soon after him also arrived the Prior of the Axholme Charterhouse, Father Augustine Webster. Matters had not been pressed forward against them as they had been against the London house, and they had little thought when they came of what was to be the end of their journey. It is possible that it was the greater courage of Houghton that carried them through their future trials. The three Priors took counsel together as to the state of their religion, and of the gathering wrath of the king, and they determined to go together to Thomas Cromwell, now invested with the spiritual jurisdiction as the king's

Vicar-general, to anticipate the danger, and state plainly to him the extent to which they could not submit, and to plead that to their secluded Order some relaxation of the oath might be permitted. The answer was probably not unexpected. Their petition was denied, and they slept that night in the Tower of London, under a charge of treason.

After they had been in prison a week, Cromwell and others of the Council came to Prior Houghton and put the definite question, Would he accept the king as supreme head, both in spirituals and in temporals ? To this came the answer, that he would consent, in all things which, and as far as, the divine law allowed. Cromwell would admit no exception, whether of divine law or not. The Carthusian answered that they were asked to swear otherwise than the Catholic Church had always held and taught. Cromwell rejoined that he cared nothing for the Church. The monk said that, with the fear of God before his eyes, he would stand by the Catholic Church ; and true Churchman that he was, he quoted St Augustine when he affirmed that he would not have believed the gospel unless the Holy Orthodox Church had thus instructed and taught him. With this the interrogatory ended. It was apparently Houghton alone who had been thus questioned, as the records show that the other two Priors were examined, on the 20th of April, at the Rolls Office. The usual questions were put, and the monks remained firm.

Yet again the Carthusians were questioned, and this time the copy of the Act of Supremacy which the Commissioners brought with them to the interrogatory was endorsed with the replies given. On this document, still in the Record Office, can be seen the answers of Houghton, written down at the time when he was questioned. A fourth man now stood beside the Carthusians, Richard Reynolds, a monk of the Bridgettine

Convent of Sion, near Brentford. He was to travel the same road as the Priors, and now affirms that he will spend his blood that he is head of the Church who has been so these three hundred years. Bearing witness with him are, he claims, a thousand thousand that be dead. Reynolds was a man of great learning and piety. Reginald Pole said of him that he was the only man in England fully conversant with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Nothing now remained but to bring to formal trial the recalcitrant monks, and on the 27th of April there was issued by a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, the Justice's precept commanding the Constable of the Tower to bring his prisoners up for trial at Westminster Hall the following day. Accordingly, on the 28th of April 1535, John Houghton, Robert Lawrence, and Augustine Webster, Carthusians, and Richard Reynolds, Bridgettine, stand before the jury in Westminster Hall and plead not guilty. In this building many other men have stood to answer for their lives, and of this company these four are not the least noble or sincere. There is no record of anything that the Carthusians said. Probably they were silent. There is an account, in the Vatican archives, of some of the arguments used by the monk of Sion. He avowed he had intended to follow Christ's example when before Herod, and remain silent. "But since you compel me to clear both mine own conscience, and that of those who stand by, I say that if we propose to maintain opinions by proofs, testimony, or reasons, mine will be far stronger than yours, because I have all the rest of Christendom in my favour; I dare even say all this kingdom, although the smaller part holds with you, for I am sure the larger part is at heart of our opinion, although outwardly, partly from fear and partly from hope, they profess to be of yours."

They bade him cease his reasoning, and only reply as to whether he had ever maliciously counselled any against

the king's opinion, and they got this answer: "From the time I was first brought into court, I answered as if I were before God, that I would never declare my opinion for malice against the king or any other person, unless it was asked of me in confession, when I could not refuse to discharge of my conscience. It is true I am much grieved that the king should be in such error. Therefore I have never said it in public, nor have I ever spoken of it except as I have said above, and if I had not done so I would do it now, because I am so bound to God and my conscience; and in this I do not mean to offend God or my Prince or any one." Here he was commanded to be silent, and he replied calmly: "Since you do not wish me to speak further, according to your own laws, thus judge me." When sentence was pronounced, he replied quietly that "This is a judgment of this world."

In a sense, though these men were standing there as holding to the old faith, they were claiming a position which is not far from that of the modern theory of liberty of conscience. They were willing to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, but would not accept his supremacy over the things of the spirit. It is not altogether clear that they were standing for the right of the individual conscience. They certainly denied the power of the national unit to separate itself from the Catholic Church, and they would as strenuously have refused to the individual the right to draw his own interpretation from the Christian evidence.

The proceedings cannot have lasted long, but the deliberations of the jury were prolonged into next day. According to the law of the land, there was nothing doubtful as to what their verdict should be, but they did hesitate, and after discussing it all day, they were in agreement that such holy fathers could not be condemned for transgressing the law. Cromwell had, however, become uneasy at the long delay, and in the evening he

sent to inquire of the jury, before they had openly delivered their verdict, what they were doing. When the messenger brought back word that the jury had prepared a verdict of acquittal, Cromwell, in a rage, replied that they were to find the monks guilty or suffer themselves. Even to this threat they would not at first yield. But Cromwell hearing of their continued firmness, as the account goes, " quickly came to them, and by his cruel threats compelled them " to change their verdict. Accordingly, on the morrow, judgment was given against the four. They were to suffer the death of traitors, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The monks spent a few more days in prison. Archbishop Cranmer, ever ready for the milder course, wrote to Cromwell that he believed he could do much with Reynolds and Webster if they were sent to him at Otford, and it would do more for the conversion of others if they were brought round to sincere doctrine, " and so for them to publish it," than for them to suffer the penalty of the law. But Cromwell knew his men by now, and let the law take its course without further delay. On Tuesday, the 4th of May, the four devoted monks were taken out of their prison to suffer the incredible brutalities of a traitor's death. Sir Thomas More was also in the Tower at this time, and looking out of his prison window, saw the four monks being led forth to execution, and, as William Roper says, " he, as one longing in that journey to have accompanied them, said unto my wife, then standing beside him, ' Lo, dost thou not see, Meg, that these blessed fathers be now as cheerful going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriages ? Wherefore thereby mayest thou see, mine own good daughter, what a difference there is between such as have spent all their days in a strait, hard, penitential, and painful life religiously, and such as have in the world, like worldly wretches, as thy poor father hath done, consumed all the time in pleasure

and ease licentiously.' " But More's courage was no less than that of these recluses, who died only a few weeks earlier than he did himself for the same cause. The monks were bound full length on the back to a hurdle, and they were thus dragged over the rough cobbles and mud of the miles of road between the Tower and Tyburn. Here let Chauncy take up the account.

" And when they had been thus brought unto the place appointed, first our holy Father was released. Then the executioner bent the knee before him, as the custom of that country is, and sought pardon from him for that cruel work which he was about to perform upon him. O good Jesus! who would not weep, seeing Christ's servant in such affliction? Who could not be filled with grief, beholding the benignity of a man so holy, and seeing how kindly and meekly he addressed his slayer, how sweetly he embraced and kissed him, and how devoutly he prayed for him and for them that stood by? Then he was bidden to ascend the ladder to the gallows whereon he was to be hanged, and obeying most gently, he ascended.

" Then one of the councillors of our Lord the King, being one of them that stood there among many thousands of people who had assembled to behold the sight, asked him if he would assent to the command of the King and the decree of Parliament, saying that if he would, pardon would be given him. The stedfast martyr of Christ answered, ' I call almighty God to witness, and I beseech you all to bear witness for me in the awful day of judgment, that I, who am about to die here, publicly confess that I commit this disobedience and frowardness against the will of our Lord the King, not from any obstinacy, malice or spirit of rebellion, but entirely for the fear of God, lest I offend His supreme Majesty; forasmuch as our holy Mother Church hath decreed and determined otherwise than your King himself with his Parliament hath

ordained ; whereby I am bound in my conscience, and am prepared without dismay, to suffer these and all other torments that can be inflicted upon me, rather than oppose the teaching of the Church. Pray for me, and pity my Brethren, whose unworthy Prior I have been.'

" And having said this, he asked the officer to wait, until he should have ended his prayer, which was, ' In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped,' to the end of the verse, ' Into Thy hands.' And when he had said this, a sign was given and the ladder was cast down, and thus he was hanged. And soon after one of them that stood by, before his holy soul departed from his body, cut the rope, and so he fell to the ground, and began after a little while to quiver and to breath.

" Then he was drawn to another place hard by, where all his garments were most violently dragged off, and he was stretched again naked on the aforementioned hurdle or drag ; and the bloody executioner soon laid his wicked hands upon him. . . . Moreover he plucked out his heart and all his entrails, and cast them into the fire ; and all the while our most blessed Father not only refrained from crying aloud at that insufferable pain, but even prayed continually until his heart was torn out, and behaved himself most patiently, gently, and quietly beyond the manner of men ; so that not only the presiding officers marvelled, but all the people that beheld. And when he was now at his last breath, and was well nigh disembowelled, he cried with a most sweet voice, ' O most merciful Lord Jesus ! pity me in this hour.' And, as men worthy of belief have declared, he said to his tormentor, when his heart was being plucked out, ' Good Jesus, what wilt thou do with my heart ? ' And when he had said this, he gave up the ghost. Then his head was hewn off, and his body was divided into four parts.

" In this manner, Reverend Father, this your holy son was found faithful unto death. He departed from this

world unto the Lord, on the fourth day of May in the year of our Lord 1535, in the forty-eighth year of his age and the fifth of his priorate, even as a good shepherd who laid down his life not only for his sheep but also for righteousness' sake and for the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The other monks suffered in their turn, and by a fiendish refinement of cruelty the last to suffer had to watch the torture of those who proceeded them to the scaffold. All died constant and firm; it was said that it was long since men had met their end with such unblemished courage. The fragments of the four were thrown into boiling water, and thus parboiled, they were hung up in various parts of the city. One of the arms of John Houghton was nailed over the gate of the house he had governed and loved. For two days it remained there. Then two brothers were passing through the gate, the one going in and the other out, and as they paused to greet each other, the arm fell at their feet. It was thus appointed by a miracle, they thought, as it chanced that no one else was within sight, which, from the numbers of those who passed by, would rarely happen. The relic thus miraculously given to them was carried inside the convent, and reverently received by the monks. They placed it in a chest together with the bloody shirt worn by the Prior at his martyrdom. It is said that the executioner had been ordered not to remove the hair shirts of the monks when preparing them to be disembowelled, and it is probably this shirt, slashed by the knife, which the monks preserved. William Exmew wrote on the chest the story of the relics, and it was intended to send it to the Grande Chartreuse. But further troubles came, and the chest was hidden "in a secret underground place." It is possible that the relics of the chief Carthusian martyr may still lie below his old monastery.

Dom Hendriks writes that "these precious relics

THE ENTRANCE GATE.

are most probably still in their hiding-place under the Charterhouse, and may yet be discovered and duly honoured. It is just possible that Herne found them, and, if so, there is reason to fear that they are lost, for he was not the man to treat them with great respect. 'Occasionally,' he says, 'searching in the dust and foundation of the present Charterhouse, now and then I could not but meet with a leg or an arm, some strokes of the Ancient Model, some few fragments of the old foundation.'" There is however, the alternative possibility, that some of the monks carried the relic of their leader with them when the convent was dispersed. An account in Stow's "Annals," tells of two priests who, in the time of Edward the Sixth, were "arraigned and condemned in the Guildhall for keeping certain relics, amongst the which was a left arm and shoulder of a monk of the Charterhouse, on the which arm was written, it was the arm of such a monk which suffered martyrdom under King Henry VIII." If this was the fragment of Houghton, as it might quite well have been, then perhaps two more of the community followed their master to the scaffold.

Chauncy also relates that Houghton himself had written on a tablet the particulars of the answers he had given to the charges against him, and to the questions put to him. This was sent to William Exmew, who gave it to Chauncy himself, who intrusted it to a Spaniard, Peter Barin, on his promising to carry it to the Pope. But Chauncy deplores that it went astray, and cannot now be traced.

The news of the execution of the Catholics at Tyburn quickly spread over Europe. What struck especial horror into Western Christendom, was that these monks had gone to execution whilst still robed in the habit of their religion. There had been no question of their being deprived by ecclesiastical law of their habits before being handed over to the secular power. The Imperial Ambassador, writing

to Charles V., goes into long detail of what has happened because, he says, of "the enormity of the case and the confirmation it gives of the hopelessness of expecting the king to repent." In the same letter he says, "It is altogether a new thing that the dukes of Richmond and Norfolk, the earl of Wiltshire, and other lords and courtiers, were present at the said execution, quite near the sufferers. People say that the king himself would have liked to see the butchery; which is very probable, seeing that nearly all the Court, even those of the Privy Chamber, were there . . . and it is thought that he was of the number of five who came thither accoutred and mounted like those of the Scottish border, who were armed secretly, with vizers before their faces, of which that of the Duke of Norfolk's brother got detached, at which there was a great stir and those of the Court began to leave."

But, Chapuys, the ambassador, writing three weeks later, says he has now heard that the king was not present, and that he was very angry because Norfolk or Wiltshire had not replied to one of the monks who had made a very fine sermon. When Chapuys' news reached Rome, the Imperial agent there wrote to the Empress to say that it had made a great sensation. He himself feels more envy than compassion for the dead; their example is a great confusion to all those cardinals at Rome, and to the vain cares which reign among Churchmen. King Henry's agent at the Papal court has to report similarly as to the effect of the news at Rome, but his comment is different. A letter recounting the matter has, he says, been read in Consistory, on which the cardinals were full of pity for the monks. "They speak many and exaggerated words about the affair, and say that they gave most wise and holy answers to the council of the king, and the nature of the death is said to be most cruel. There have been many words spoken in Rome on the matter, and some among

the Cardinals have even said that they envied such a death, and wished they might be one of them. To those who related this to me, I replied that they might tell the Cardinals, that, if such were their wish, let them go to England, and they might repeat the folly of the others." Evidently the English Envoy had his own opinion of the courage so safely shown in the Eternal City.

Similar reports come from Thomas Starkey at Venice. He has never known the Italians break out so vehemently at any thing, it seems so strange to them, and so against their stomach. All Venice is in great "murmuration" to hear it.

It was just that the mind of Europe should have been thus moved by the death of these monks. It was the beginning of a new epoch when a member, and a priest, of the Catholic Church should, as such, be put to death for maintaining that organisation of it which had been supreme throughout the mediæval period. The ancient Church was to come under the bracing influence of a vigorous opposition. At Rome the relaxing atmosphere of the later Italian Renaissance was to give way to the spirit of Ignatius Loyola, and his army of Jesuits, another race of conquerors of Rome; working from within these were to transform the papacy. The Carthusians were the protomartyrs of the army of those who sacrificed their lives in the cause of the Catholic Reaction.

CHAPTER X

THE CHARTERHOUSE AFTER THE DEATH OF ITS LEADER

Thus did the Charterhouse lose its beloved Prior; but the convent treasured his memory, and took inspiration from his example. The monks were not left in peace, but on the very day of Houghton's martyrdom an emissary of Cromwell's came to the gate, where hung the blood-stained arm of their leader, to press home that lesson of submission which this relic might well bring to the troubled convent. But in the words of this man himself, they regarded " no more the death of their father in word or countenance than he were living and conversant amongst them."

This king's man who came to convert these constant Catholics was Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and he was a man fated to have many experiences with the London Carthusians, trying to both parties. One of the whole-hearted supporters of the royal supremacy, he made a special study of the arguments for this position. It was he who revised and corrected the book which about this time was circulated through England to serve as the armoury of argument on which the conforming priest might draw when attacking the papal position. It now became his special duty to secure the adhesion of converts, and, supported as he was by powerful secular hints, he can, in England generally, have found little real opposition. He had taken special pains with the Carthusians, and had played what he considered to be his most telling card by leaving for their inspection sundry books with his own notes in them. Evidently a man of considerable

self-importance, he found it no doubt galling to have to confess failure in making converts when his own personal effort was thus put forth. Accordingly he vents his spleen in a pitiable exhibition of narrow-mindedness when reporting his non-success to Cromwell. There is in this letter an echo of the quiet dignity and sobriety with which the Carthusians faced the danger from outside. It should be said here, that in the events recounted in this book it is, in the main, the less reputable, and more time-serving, section of the reforming party which comes into contact with the most consistent representatives of the old faith. At this time the courage and single-mindedness of the Protestants were mainly to be found in the lowlier grades of the people. The instruments of the king command the admiration of few. If, in this account, one's sympathy is attracted towards the devotion of the small Catholic band, and away from those who immediately attacked them, it must not be forgotten that the opposing faith could also breed its heroes.

Bedyll, after his visit, writes to say that he has left with the monks " divers books and annotations both of mine own and others against the primacy of the bishop of Rome, and also Saint Peter, declaring evidently the equality of the apostles by the law of God. And after long communication more than an hour and a half with the vicar and procurator of the house, I left those books and annotations with them, that they should see the holy scriptures and doctors there upon concerning the said matters and there upon reform themselves accordingly." But neither the words spoken or written by the self-important Bedyll had been of any effect, and he had to suffer the humiliation of the return of the books by a servant " without any word or writing." He therefore sent for the procurator and asked him if they had read the annotations or even " perused the titles of the books, making most for the said matter. He answered that

the vicar and he and Newdigate had spent the time upon them till 9 or 10 of the clock at night, and that they saw nothing in them whereby they were moved to alter their opinion. I then declared to him the danger of his opinion, which was like to be the destruction of them and their house for ever ; and as far as I can perceive by my communication with the vicar and procurator on Tuesday, and with the procurator yesterday, they be obstinately determined to suffer all extremities rather than to alter their opinion, regarding no more the death of their father in word or countenance than he were living and conversant amongst them. I also demanded of the procurator whether the residue of his brethren were of like opinion, and he answered he was not sure, but he thought they were all of one mind. I showed him that I thought that the spirit which appeared before God, and said he would be a false spirit in the mouths of all the prophets of Ahab, had inspired them and sowed this obstinacy in them. Finally I suppose it to be the will of God, that as their religion had a simple beginning, so in this realm it shall have a strange end, procured by themselves and none others. And albeit they pretend holiness in this behalf, surely the ground of their said opinion is hypocrisy, vain glory, confederacy, obstinacy, to the intent they may be seen to the world, or specially to such as have their confidence in them, more faithfull and more constant than any other. From Aldersgate Street this morning of Ascension Day. I am so troubled with the fever that I am fain to keep my house.

By your own,

THOMAS BEDYLL."

It was now determined to proceed further against the Carthusians, and Humphrey Middlemore, the vicar, William Exmew, the procurator, and Sebastian Newdigate were selected for further examination. These were the

three that had now taken the lead of the convent; the last was only a simple monk, but he had become prominent from his zeal and learning. They were indeed, all three, men of exceptional parts; Exmew and Newdigate were Greek scholars. Chauncy says that men came and "in a noisy manner" took away these monks. They were taken to Cromwell's house at Stepney, and here, on being questioned, each firmly made his declaration that "I cannot nor will consent to be obedient to the King's Highness as a true, lawful, and obedient subject, to take and repute him to be Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England under Christ." They were committed to the Marshalsea, "a most filthy prison," and here they were bound upright to pillars and fixed close with iron chains around the neck and thighs, and thus bound, remained for weeks, without any relaxation of the fetters. One of the monks, Sebastian Newdigate, had experienced formerly the gaieties of the court, and the especial favour of the king himself, and Henry thought he might still influence his old friend. According to the "Life of Jane Dormer," and another old manuscript as well, the king even braved the filth and disease of a medieval prison, and visited, in disguise, the old courtier, now chained to a post in such noisome surroundings. But there is reason to believe that Henry's visit was really to the Charterhouse, and was an effort to persuade Newdigate previous to his being brought before Cromwell. Such a visit there and in disguise was believed, at the court of France, to have taken place; and the Imperial Ambassador received a letter there relating how Henry had gone to the Charterhouse and urged on the monks many reasons why they should accept him as Supreme. But they answered unanimously, that the king might do what he would with their bodies, but they would never consent. It is strange if this appeal was made to more than one monk that Chauncy should not have heard of it,

and related it in his record. He does not refer to it, and we are left in doubt whether Henry went to the prison or the monastery. Apart from Chauncy, the latter is the more probable, even though the two accounts of the matter which exist in manuscripts written some years later, and still in the possession of the modern Carthusians, are very explicit that the king went to the prison. Perhaps the truth is that the visit was a strictly incognito one, to Newdigate alone, and to the Charterhouse. The manuscripts say that the king expressed his love for Sebastian, and the deep interest in his welfare which the visit pointed to, and asked him to ponder on the return such affection and loving condescension deserved. But the spirit of the Carthusian had not been broken by his bodily trials, and he replied firmly that it was not contempt for the king, for whose health and prosperity he would daily pray, but the desire to save his own soul, and the teaching of Holy Church, and the Law of God, which made him refuse the required oath. The account continues that Henry went away " in a great rage threatening and cursing," and this rather makes one doubt the accuracy of the record, as one of the marked characteristics of that extraordinary man was his immense self-control, and capacity for appreciating genuine and firm opposition delivered to his face. Nevertheless the manuscript reports him as once more setting upon Newdigate with " menaces and injurious words," after the latter had been removed to the Tower. Henry then promised that if Newdigate took not a lesson from the fate of the three Carthusian priors, and chose to imitate them in life, he should imitate them in death also. The monks can have been under no delusion as to the certainty of this. The indictment of the three soon followed; and by the same document John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, is also charged. The Carthusians were tried separately from the bishop, however, being brought to

the bar of Westminster Hall, on the eleventh of June. Chauncy's account of the trial is as follows:

"These three were young in years, but old in mind, full of grace and virtues, and of illustrious lineage, and the third of them, Father Sebastian, had been brought up in the palace of our Lord the King. They were very learned and of great constancy, and affirmed boldly before the bench of Judges that the King could not assume unto himself by right and authority of the law of God that supremacy and primacy over the Church which Jesus Christ our Lord granted to the Pope and the priests. And they went to death as to a banquet, receiving it with the greatest gentleness and patience of heart, with eagerness of body and with a cheerful countenance, in hope of eternal life, on the nineteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1535."

There is also another record of the trial, and that from the other side, written by the stout Protestant, Edward Hall. He was an out-and-out king's man, but his account, read between the lines, does but emphasise the dignity of bearing of the Carthusians. "These men," he says, "when they were arraigned at Westminster, behaved themselves very stiffly and stubbornly, for hearing their inditment read how traitorously they had spoken against the king's Majesty his crown and dignity, they neither blushed nor bashed at it, but very foolishly and hypocritically knowledged their treason, which maliciously they announced, having no learning for their defence, but rather being asked divers questions, they used a malicious silence, thinking as by their examination afterwards in the Tower of London it did appear for so they said, that they thought those men which was the Lord Cromwell and other that there sat upon them in judgement to be heretics and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be either answered or spoken unto. And therefore as they deserved, they received

as you have heard before." That which they received was, of course, execution at Tyburn as traitors. In one account of this there is the ghastly detail given, that the hearts of the monks after being torn from their breasts were forced between the teeth of the dead. It is no less difficult to imagine how men could be found to carry out the execution of a traitor in those days than it is to realise the bravery of those who faced it for conscience sake. It was a grim time when "earnest gospeller," or "cankered papist," "heretic," or "true son of Holy Church," burnt and slew, each striving to extirpate the religion of the other. And for the background of this mightier struggle we have the obscurer sectaries, often with the seeds of a freer time in their minds, who were hated and slain by both protagonists. Listen to a short extract from a chronicle of the time, all we can ever know of fourteen human units who would rather die than renounce what they had come to believe. "The five and twentieth of May were, in St Paul's church, London, examined nineteen men and six women, born in Holland, whose opinions were :—first, that in Christ is not two natures, God and man ; secondly, that Christ took neither flesh nor blood of the Virgin Mary ; thirdly, that children born of infidels may be saved ; fourthly, that baptism of children is of none effect ; fifthly, that the sacrament of Christ's body is but bread only ; sixthly, that he who after baptism sinneth wittingly, sinneth deadly, and cannot be saved. Fourteen of them were condemned, a man and a woman of them were burnt at Smithfield, the other twelve were sent among other towns, there to be burnt." Latimer drew this lesson from their death, that because they died bravely therefore their cause need not be true. "The Anabaptists that were burnt here in divers towns in England (as I heard of credible men—I saw them not myself) went to their death intrepide, as you will say ; without any fear in the world—cheerfully :

well, let them go. There was in the old times another kind of poisoned heretics that were called Donatists ; and these heretics went to their execution as they should have gone to some jolly recreation or banquet." Has the world learnt the lesson yet ? That there are more ways in heaven and earth of finding the reconciliation of the spirit than is dreamt of by any one intolerant creed.

After this second slaughter the Government seems to have hesitated to proceed to further extremities. The spirit of the convent was maintained, with the exception of a few individuals, and the execution of the monks, in detail, may well have appeared undesirable. Other methods of breaking down the firmness of the convent were being tried. Very soon after Prior Houghton had been removed to prison, John Whalley, one of the secular instruments of Cromwell, had been sent to take control of the Charterhouse, and watch proceedings. He was in complete command, and he gave orders that no one, spiritual or temporal, should enter the cloister to communicate with the monks without his knowledge. They must either bring some token from Cromwell, or must be such as Whalley knows to be " of an honest sort." Whalley has not forgotten Cromwell's personal pleasure, so he sends " to his most singular good master," " a dish of such apples as are left in the house," and adds that " if they like you they shall be kept for you as long as they last, and provide for the convent almonds and figs accordingly."

John Whalley was a sensible man, and he perceived that Rastall, whom Cromwell had sent to the Charterhouse to argue and preach at the monks, was a useless man for the purpose. This is probably John Rastall, the proprietor of a printing house at " the Mermaid next St Paul's." He certainly was known to Cromwell. Rastall was a lawyer as well as a printer, and though he had at one time written a book in defence of Purgatory, he was

that miracle of argument, a man converted by the persuasion of a refuter of his own tract. After this he spent his time and money issuing books in defence of the Protestant theology, not at all to his financial profit. He complains sadly to Cromwell that he can now only print 50 reams of paper a year, whereas he used to print 200 or 300. Rastall, probably an extremist, like some others who change sides, was now getting old, and losing his legal business, so perhaps he was not a strong debater. He may have been especially obnoxious to good Catholics from being connected, by marriage, with Sir Thomas More, some of whose books Rastall, in his orthodox days, had printed. His apostacy would thus be particularly resented. At any rate, Whalley reports, the monks laugh at all Rastall says, and he adds, "No question they be exceedingly superstitious, ceremonious, and pharisaical and wonderfully addict to their old mumpsimus."

This curious word, "mumpsimus," deserves a short note. It belongs to the slang of the period, and originated with an illiterate monk, who misread the word "sumpsimus" in the service. He refused to change when the mistake was pointed out to him, and avowed that "mumpsimus" was quite good enough for him. The word was adopted as symbolical of the old doctrine, held often, perhaps, more from a disinclination to change than deep conviction. It even became a parliamentary phrase, being used by no less a person than the king in a speech to the houses. He said, in that famous utterance which has been called his ecclesiastical testament, "Some be too stiff in their old mumpsimus, others be too busy and curious in their new sumpsimus."

Whalley can suggest a better plan to convert the monks. It is necessary that those who come to argue should be men whose general orthodoxy on questions of Catholic faith should be undoubted. These are much more likely

to be listened to. Whalley advises that some honest, loyal man should come to reside, then have the vicar of Croydon, " or other of the popish sort," to preach before them against their superstitions. Lastly, let such bishops as those of York, Winchester, and Durham come to preach. Then, if this Catholic persuasion does not win, let them be sentenced according to the law. It was a good plan of campaign, and these men were certainly those who would have had the most influence. As it is, Whalley is not over-pleased with those who do come. Mr. Fyloll, Cromwell's servant, has been there and spoken to some, and also Roberts, Shyngleton, Marshall, and others to whom Whalley has refused admission, not knowing Cromwell's pleasure. A manuscript sermon of the Vicar of Croydon's was now forwarded to Whalley, but it made him uneasy. He sends it back to Cromwell: " For I would that your mastership should first declare it unto the king before him, for I perceive that the said bishop (of Canterbury) and you and the King be touched in parable."

Later on, the vicar himself, Roland Phillips, did come personally to the Charterhouse, as the Bishop of London, writing a year after, reminds Cromwell with " what zeal Roland Phillips at this time last year laboured in our presence to bring the Carthusians into obedience to the king as head of this church." The bishop, John Stokesley, like Phillips, was strongly opposed to the " fervent gospellers " (according to Fox, he boasted, on his deathbed, that he had sent over thirty heretics to their death), though actively ready to aid the king's supremacy. This reminder of the bishop's may have been to react against some feeling, on the part of Cromwell, that Phillips was not a good enough king's man.

Whalley writes again, on the 29th of May, to say that he, together with Jasper Fyloll, has examined all the books in every cell, in order that the Statutes of Bruno,

and " suche lyke doctors," shall be taken away from the monks. These were to be deprived of the rules of their own body, no doubt in order that the corporate feeling might be broken down. Whalley believes that three or four of the monks will forsake their opinions; as for the rest, they trust much in the Prior of Hinton, Dr Horde; but he says, " Somme of thiese olde preachers might preache unto them every weke and I thinke they wille sone be at appoynt." This Doctor Horde, whose opinion the monks counted as valuable, had formerly been a member of the London house, and had risen to be sacristan there. He would seem to have been a man whose genuine piety and religious feeling were acknowledged by his fellow-Carthusians. But he was not so ultramontane as to prevent him going as far as possible towards conforming to the wishes of his king, and, indeed, he ultimately consented to the surrender of his priory, much against his conscience, as he plainly expressed. Still he yielded; he was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made. The conflict between duty to pope and king in Prior Horde's mind is quaintly expressed by an account of a vision that came to him about the time when Henry married Anne Boleyn. He told his fellow-prior of Witham that " he has had the night before a marvelous vision, and declares the same in the manner and form following. That he saw a stage royal whereupon stood, as he thought, all the nobles of the realm; they by one consent drew up into the said stage the queen's grace that now is (Anne Boleyn), as he thought, by a line. Whereunto he put his hand with aid to the same, and so suddenly came again into his remembrance and sore repented his folly that he had so much done in prejudice to the law of God and Holy Church. And further said, striking himself upon the breast with his fist, 'God defend that ever I should consent to so unjust and unlawful a deed.'" Only a simple yet genuine mind could have imagined or re-

counted such a vision. Archbishop Lee of York, about this time, also writes to Cromwell that Doctor Horde would be useful "for the alluring of some of his simple brodren in the north."

Thomas Bedyll continued his efforts to convince, those efforts which were so almost uniformly successful elsewhere, as he no doubt considered was his due. Evidently he was not unjustified in this good opinion of himself. Layton, a fellow-servant of Cromwell's, once complimented Bedyll in an account he gave of sundry *sub rosa* machinations which a certain Prior Bushope had been carrying on in a clumsily conspicuous manner. In conclusion Layton says that "if Master Bedyll had been here a Friar, and of Bushope's counsell, he would right well have helped him to have brought matters to pass without breaking up of any grate, or yet counterfeiting of keys, such capacity God has sent him." Layton was no mean judge of "ways that are dark and tricks that are mean,"—it is he who routed out such amazing tales of the monasteries,—and he had besides a pretty wit, therefore approbation from him is approbation indeed. So the "capacity God had sent him" carried Bedyll successfully through his work, the only real opposition he encountered from any monastic body coming from the London Charterhouse, and, to a lesser extent, from the Bridgettine house at Sion, near Isleworth. The latter was of an order allied to and closely resembling the Carthusian, and they showed a similar spirit, and relied on each other in the course they were taking. Bedyll gives his opinion on the matters relating to these two houses in a letter to Cromwell, written from Cranmer's house at Otford in August of this year. He not obscurely hints at the monks being now ripe for the scaffold, with the blasphemous proviso that he first wishes they were dead "by God's hand." He says in his letter, which breathes bigotry and callousness,

"I am right sorry to see the foolishness and obstinacy of divers religious men, so addict to the Bishop of Rome, and his usurped power, that they contemn all counsel, and likewise the jeopardy of their bodies and souls, and the suppression of their houses, as careless men, and willing to die. If it were not for the opinion, which men had, and some yet have, in their apparent holiness, which is and was, for the most part, covert hipocrasy, it made no great matter what became of them, so their souls were saved; and, as for my part, I would that all such obstinate persons of them, which be willing to die for the advancement of the Bishop of Rome, his authority, were dead indeed, by God's hand, that no man should run wrongfully into obloquy for their just punishment. For the avoiding whereof, and for the charity that I owe to their bodies and souls, I have taken some pains to reduce them from their errors; and will take more, if I be commanded specially; to the intent that my Sovereign Lord, the King's Grace, should not be troubled or inquieted with their extreme madness and folly."

Bedyll evidently is reluctant to burn his fingers with the monks again. At the end of the letter he states that some friend of the Carthusians has told him that there is good likelihood that on a further visit they would be brought to conformity. But this further visit, Bedyll says, he "would be the more ready to accomplish if I may have some commandement so to do; and without that I would be loath to meddle with them any more; seeing I laboured so much already, in vain, to bring them from their inveterate error to the very duty of a faithful subject to his natural Prince."

In this place may be inserted another letter from Bedyll, of a considerably later date, which would seem to point to the Archdeacon's having, in his desire to combat the "inveterate error" of the monks, done something to throw suspicion even on his own straight dealing with

his prince. The letter, which is addressed "To my verey singular good lord my lord privey seale," is curious, and runs thus :

"My verey good lord after my due commendations. Yesterday when I came home to my house from the coort after that I hadd shewed you a thing that greved my mynd the fever touched me whom I thought clerly to have been departed from me. And this nyght I lay muche waking and turnyng from one side to thother remembring the same thing that I shewed your lordship yesterday. And when I could aleurs [? allure] no slepe unto me I called for pen and ynke and wrote thes verses inclosed, roughe hewed and rude, awiche I send you to this entent only that ye may perceyve by thaim that my mynd is somwhat occupied in the pensive remembrance of the said thing. In whiche I beseche your lordship to make myne excuse at convenient occasion, evyn as the truethe is and none otherwise. For al that I have doen in that cause I take God to recorde was for the love and feith that I owed to the Kings grace that his highness shuld not fyle his handis upon suche a sort whom at that tyme I reputed verey obstinat wretches. Of whom as I shalbe saved I had never penny nouther promise of penny worth and had never reward of thaim but one disshe of apples worthe a Grote or VId—whiche is but a smal thing to provoke one to do that thing whereby he myght fal into his princes displeaser. From my house in Aldergate strete the XXVI day of Marche. I trust to se your lordship sone if I be any better at ease.

your owne at commaundement
THOMAS BEDYLL."

The verses, "rough-hewed and rude," have not survived, neither has any record of what suspicion of double dealing it was which had thus fallen on trusty Bedyll. To

return to the previous letter and the account there given by Bedyll of the two convents which were thwarting him.

The connection between the London Charterhouse and the convent of Sion had always been a close one. Houghton had gone to the Father Confessor, Fewterer, Superior of the Convent, for advice, and this monk had counselled him to resist the king. A monk from Sion, Richard Reynolds, stood beside the Carthusian Priors during their trials. It was therefore a great sorrow to the London house when Fewterer changed his mind, as he had by the time of Bedyll's letter, and advised submission; but he had not succeeded in carrying his convent with him. Though it concerns a different monastery from the one we are particularly dealing with, the account which Bedyll gives of what was happening at Sion is a true record of the similar emotions that were agitating the Carthusians at the same time. Bedyll is reporting the progress made in the preaching of the new position at Sion, and we may easily see how distasteful this was, even to those who nominally conformed. The Confessor has preached twice, " and did his duty, concerning the said title accordingly; and likewise did Master David Curzon, two times, saving that he brought in, one time, these words, ' mea culpa ' out of frame, as divers did report. Percase he thought no harm thereby, but was a term, that he commonly used, and so came into his speech unadvisedly."

" Item, on Sunday last, one Whitford, one of the most wilful of that house, preached, and would speak not a word of the King's Grace said title; this man has but small learning, but is a great railer. Item, on Saint Bartholomew's day, one Ricot preached, and declared the King's title, as he was commanded; but he had this addition, that he, which commanded him so to preach, should discharge his conscience, . . . and as soon as the said Ricot began to declare the King's said title, nine of his

brethren, Friars of Sion, departed from the sermon, contrary to the rule of their religion, to the great slander of all the audience. It may please you therefore to forsee and judge, whether, in this case, it shall be better for a season, till your return to London, to command them to surcesse of all preaching, or else to provide some remedy in the meantime against them, which shall preach, and not do their duty, and against them which shall flee, from the sermon of their brethren, declaring the King's Grace said title." Bedyll adds: "that it should not be ill done, in my opinion," if the brethren mounted the pulpit in the presence of some trusty servants of the king, ready to hale them off incontinently to prison if they did ill, "to the terrible example of all their adherents."

Father Fewterer of Sion sought to carry the Carthusians with him in his change of face, and he wrote to them a long letter of argument and plea, only a small part of which can be quoted. "Good Fathers and devout Brethren. . . . Ye have heard (as we do perceive) that we have been in such opinion as ye yet be, and been in trouble, displeasure, and danger therefore as ye now be: Alack learn at some persons to resolve your conscience, and believe that we and many other of more perfection and virtue than we be, and of more deep learning, reason, and discretion than we or you be, have with charity, true faith, and perfect unity of Christ's Church, resolved our conscience from the opinion you now rest in, and conformed ourselves to unity and uniform decree and order of this realm in this cause."

Thus the Carthusians were bombarded with argument from friend and enemy. Another part of the theological campaign, though at a later date, was to drag the unwilling monks to hear sermons preached from St Paul's Cross, that they might see there the new doctrine preached with the consent of the world. Four monks were seized one Sunday morning, and forcibly placed, in the fore-

front of the audience, with the Sheriff to watch over them. And amidst all their troubles the monks may have had the crowning tribulation of receiving evidence that the stand they were making for the old faith was misunderstood, through misreport, by the head of their Order. In August of this year, that doubtful Carthusian, Andrew Boorde, in his travels reached the Grande Chartreuse. He must have been still ignorant of Houghton's death, or else even Boorde would not have dared to tell such a tale, as to make the General of the Order commission him to write to his home convent in London, charging the monks there to "love God, and that in any wise you obey our sovereign lord the king; he being very sorry to hear tell of any wilful and sturdy opinions to be among you in times past to the contrary. . . . In witness that I do not fable with you, specially that you be in all causes obedient to your king, the aforesaid reverend father hath made the right honourable esquire master Cromwell . . . brother of all the holy religion." If this letter reached the convent it must have caused them much bitterness and sorrow to find their cause so much misrepresented. But it is possible that this letter was one of those which Boorde brought back to England to deliver there himself, and concerning which, when he found how far matters had proceeded, he, with his usual admirable caution, wisely wrote to Cromwell, that he will not deliver them "until the time you have seen them and known the overplus of my mind." If Cromwell did see them, it must have startled even his stable mind to read of his promotion. Cromwell the Carthusian is not a figure which appears in history, though, strangely enough, the only consolation from outside that Chauncy records as received by the convent, during these trying years, came from the Vicar-General himself. The monk says that Cromwell "publically, in our chapter, before many bystanders, after the death of our Father, acknow-

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHAPEL AND OTHER BUILDINGS.

ledged him to have been a just and holy man." Chauncy may certainly be trusted for such an explicit statement of fact. It can only be conjectured what Cromwell meant by the expression. Perhaps, though ruthless in policy, that Machiavellian spirit was free from the bigotry of the time, and could appreciate an opponent's position and character.

Cromwell certainly should have received another letter of Boorde's, written a month or two previously, for it was addressed to him. The letter ended with the prayer that " I humbly and precordyally desyre your mastership to be good master (as you ever have been) to your faithfull bedesmen, master prior of the Charterhouse of London, and to Master doctor Horde, prior of Hinton." Before he received this message Cromwell had indeed showed himself a master to Houghton, and that in a hard fashion, and one can imagine that the Vicar-General smiled grimly as he read the words of Boorde's prayer.

So much of Cromwell's time was taken up by the Charterhouse that John Husse, who wished to see him towards the end of the year, writes that it is difficult to do so, as he is so much busied with matters concerning the convent. A true bureaucrat, Cromwell concentrated in his own hands all the threads of the secular campaign, by which, as well as by the theological arguments, he was trying to bend the refractory convent. To this campaign we will now turn.

Beside Whalley, who has been mentioned before, Cromwell had also sent to the Charterhouse another servant of his, one Jasper Fyloll, and when Whalley left Fyloll remained behind, and went minutely into the domestic economy of the convent. He was put in absolute charge of the finances, and one would imagine he must be holding a brief for saving, which savings perhaps went into Cromwell's pocket, or his own, when he endeavoured to explain that the demands of the

house for victuals and other things were too great to be borne out of the revenue. He reports that the yearly net revenue is £642, os. 4½d., and the estimate for supplies on the old basis is £658, 7s. 4d., and the rise in the price of wheat of 4s. a quarter, and of malt 20d., will make matters worse. He asserts that the lay brothers tell him that of old, when provisions were cheaper, and there were fewer persons in residence, the procurator has spent £1000 a year (equal to £12,500 nowadays), or £350 more than their endowment, the balance being borne by the benevolence and charity of the city of London. This seems a most extraordinary statement, as the endowment of the Charterhouse was an exceptionally large one, and the Carthusians do not seem to have been the people to require an extravagant budget, even though their benevolence may have been as large as Fyloll suggests. There is on record one year's bill for salt fish, a very important item, and it is only £15, 17s. 3d. He reports that the monks, "not regarding this dearth, neither the increase of their superfluous number" (this is surely satirical of Fyloll, considering the reduction of the number by the hangman's rope), "neither yet the decay of the said benevolence and charity, would have and hath that same fare continual that then was used, and would have like plenty of bread and ale and fish given to strangers in the buttery and at the buttery door, and as large livery of bread and ale to all their servants, and to vagabonds at the gate; which cannot be. Wherefore, under favour of your mastership, it seems to be much necessary to minish either their number or dainty fare, and also the superfluous livery of bread and ale." The last sentence perhaps shows whither Fyloll's arguments were tending, but he says he is uncertain what to do, as Whalley has impressed on him that Cromwell's command is that he "shuld breke noone old ordir of the howse." It might be suggested as possible that the huge sum of a thousand

pounds said to have been spent in a year may have dated from the time when the present Washhouse Court was being built; the three hundred pounds raised by the Londoners would then resolve itself into a building fund. There can be little doubt that Fyloll is not referring to the normal expenditure of the convent. The rest of his long report is of such interest that it must be quoted in full.

"These Charterhouse monks would be called solitary; but to the cloister door there be 24 keys, in the hands of 24 persons, and it is like that letters, unprofitable tales and tidings, and sometimes perverse council cometh and goeth by reason thereof. Also to the buttery door there be 12 sundry keys, in 12 men's hands, wherein seemeth to be small husbandry.

"Now is the time of year when provision was wont to be made of ling, haberdeens, and of other salt store, and also of their winter vestures to their bodies and to their beds, and for fuel to their cells, wherein I tarry till I may know your mastership's pleasure therein.

"I think, under correction of your mastership, that it were very necessary to remove the two lay brothers from the buttery, and set two temporal persons there in that room, and likewise in the kitchen, for in those two offices lie the waste of the house.

"In the beginning of August last past, my lord of Canterbury sent for two monks here, Rochester and Rawlins. His lordship sent Rochester home again, but he keepeth Rawlins still with him, and I understand he hath changed his habit to secular priests' clothing, and eateth flesh. I know that some of them, and I think that divers more of them, would be glad to be licensed to the same.

"One lay brother apostate, late of the isle of Axholm, as he said, being sick in the great sickness, was secretly without my knowledge received here into the cloister, where he died, within four days. One of the lay brothers

kept him in his sickness, and is now sick in the same great sickness. God's will be performed.

". . . Master John Maidwell, commonly called the Scottish friar, hath been here with Dan John Rochester, William Marshall and other then being present, and hath exerted him to the best, but they could find no good towardness in him, but after an hour's communication they left him as they found him."

" Then I entreated Rochester and four or five of the monks to be contented to hear him preach one sermon among them, one day that week, wherewith they were then contented ; but on the next day when they had spoken with their other brothers, they sent me word that I should not bring him among them, for, if I so did, they would not hear him, by cause they had heard tell of him that he preached against the honouring of images and of saints, and that he was a blasphemer of saints. And I said that I marvelled much of them, for there can be no greater heresy in any man, specially in a religious man, than to say that he cannot preach the word of God, neither will not hear it preached. And they say that they will read their doctors, and go no farther ; and I told them that such doctors hath made some of their company to be strong traitors and traitorously to suffer death. Now, Sir, standing the case in the premises as I have now written, I dare do nothing till I know somewhat of your mastership's pleasure. For I have learned of my fellow John Whalley, that your pleasure is that I should break none old order of the house ; but your commandment once known, I trust to endeavour myself to follow and accomplish it, with such diligence and discretion as I am able, and as God will give me grace, and as I think to answer to your mastership in dread of your displeasure as knoweth God, who ever lead you from henceforth forward, as he hath done hitherto, in his holy spirit, the comfort of our most christian and catholic prince, the

king's highness, and of all his noblemen, and all other his true subjects. At the Charterhouse next to London, the fifth of September.

your humble servant,

JASP. FYLOLLE."

" Sir I have sewed to the bill of proportion a parchment containing the names of the whole household of the Charterhouse, and by cause you shall not marvell upon the order of that bill, in the first line is set before every man's name that hath confessed himself to be the King's true man, there is set a ' G ' for good, and before the other a ' B ' for bad.

" In the second line is set the letter that standeth before his cell door. The third line is the number of the persons."

But this most interesting census of Fyloll's is lost, and we must guess from other evidence which monks deserved the " G." As to the other remarks he makes, the 24 keys of which he complains were necessary for the solitary life of the Carthusian. Independent as they must be, each inmate of a monastery carried, as the modern monk carries, a key to open his cell door and some other doors inside the cloister.

Thus we hear from the outside how the fidelity of the convent to its principles was being attacked. Chauncy records this time from within. The monks were to have a respite of two years from imprisonment and death, though every other means of attack was tried, and the chronicler says that during these two years the holiness, constancy, modesty, cheerfulness, and such " moderation in all," astonished every one who saw them.

Chauncy's narrative is almost as rich in biblical allusion as the speech of the traditional Puritan, so much so that it is sometimes difficult to follow, and the portion now to be quoted is full of this theological obscurity.

" After the death of these our holy Brethren, two years

passed before more were cast into prison, yet not without exceeding tribulation unto us, for now a time was come such as had not been since ancient days. Aforetime others fought for us, and we were silent, but now extreme necessity compelled each one to give account for himself, and to keep guard over himself, seeing that all other helpers had been forbidden and kept from us. For now for four years past we had had strife unceasingly, nor had there been one hour in which we could have been free from our tribulations ; without were open fightings, within were fears because of our expectation of the tribulation which was coming upon us. We desired death, but it fled from us, for they strove to overcome us with weariness. After the taking of the holy Vicar and his companions, two Seculars were set up to rule the House, who treated the convent in a worldly, unworthy and cruel manner. They fed themselves delicately enough, but the convent they fed with hunger and thirst. For they took away their victuals from them, and appointed for them a little cheese or some other small portion for their daily sustenance. They brought in also not Hebrews but men inebriated [non Hebraeos sed ebrios ; a poor pun of Chauncy's !], not with wine but with malice, to mock us and buffet us wheresoever they could take us, and others crept in to spy out our liberty. For we had such confidence and boldness, that we dared to strive against such a King by the help of the scriptures and with arguments. But when they found that the fountains that filled our conduit with water (I mean the constancy and fortitude of them who had not fallen) supplied us from the southern parts without the city (for the Brethren defended themselves valiantly with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God and the witness of authentic Doctors, being always ready to give an answer to every man that demanded a reason from them of the faith and hope that were in them), this

conduit I say they cut off, as they warred with us. For they removed from us the books which we had in our cells, that thus we might be made defenceless and dry with thirst. Howbeit there were not far from the walls the fountains of the Saviour, from which secretly was drawn with joy the saving water of wisdom, springing up to eternal life, nor could all our enemies forbid it, or take it away from us. And although some of us thus defended themselves with the shield of doctrine, it is worthy to be recorded that most of them profited more, and were enabled more sharply and deeply to pierce the hearts of our adversaries through holy innocence and simplicity, armed wherewith they refused to pass the bounds which our Fathers had set for us, but, as holy Mother Church taught them, ever determined and confessed with their mouths, that they would stedfastly abide by this purpose."

At the beginning of this secular persecution it was Jasper Fyloll who conducted the campaign, and there is a further lengthy letter from him to Cromwell, also, like the one previously quoted, full of interesting detail, and equally deserving reproduction in full. He writes :

" If it be the King's pleasure and yours that this Charterhouse shall stand without a prior as it now doth, it seemeth that, saving your mastership's correction, to be very necessary to minish the number of the cloister monks, and also of the lay-brothers, at the least by so many as hath not, ne will not, confess the King to be their Supreme Head under God here in earth, and that will not renounce all jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and of all his laws that be contrary to the good laws of this realm.

" That done, it seemeth to be necessary that they shall sit daily in their fraytry, and four of them at a mess of meat, and that so done that meat that now serveth twelve persons will serve then twenty persons honestly." ("Meat," in the sense as used here, of course, stands for food in

general, and not flesh, this being altogether absent from the Carthusian table.)

" It seemeth also to be convenient that their lay steward, and other their lay servants and strangers, should eat flesh in their hall and parlour, contary to their old ill custom.

" Also, if any of the cloister monks list to eat flesh it were pity to constrain him to eat fish, for such constrained abstinence shall never be meritorious.

" It is no great marvel though many of these monks have heretofore offended God and the King by their foul errors ; for I have found in the prior and proctors cells three or four sundry printed books from beyond the sea, of as foul errors and heresies as may be ; and one or two books be never printed alone, but hundreds of them. Wherefore, by your mastership's favour, it seemeth to be much necessary that their cells be better searched ; for I can perceive few of them but they have great pleasure in reading of such erroneous doctors, and little or none in reading of the New Testament or in other good books.

" Also Master Bedyll and Mr Doctor Crome in this vacation time called Rochester and Fox before them, and gave them marvellous good exhortations by the space of an hour and more, but it prevailed nothing, but they left those two forward monks as erroneous as they found them ; wherein was much lack of grace.

" Also, William Marshall gave lately to be distributed among all our monks twenty-four English books named ' The Defence of Peace.' Many of them received those books and said if their President would command them or license them to read it, then they would so do, or else not. The third day following all save one sent home their books again to me, saying that their President had commanded them so to do. Yet, at more leisure Dampne (Dom) John Rochester was so fair entreated to read one of them, that he took the book and kept it, four or five

days, and then burned him; which is good matter to lay to them at the time when your pleasure shall be to visit them.

"Where in every office of the house there is set one or two lay brothers, it is thought that they be not profitable to the house, but much prodigal, every one of them to the other and to their friends elsewhere. Also the lay servants of that house be but like Abbey men, and will do but as they list, and they be the common messengers for bearing and bringing of letters, tidings, and credence to and fro the convent in the cloister, and every of the said lay servants hath a key to the cloister door, to come to and go, and let in and out their friends at their pleasure. One man there hath the convent seal of twenty houses in London, and his writing is much suspicious, for it is razed in twenty words, and the tenants decayeth and he is bound to reparations, and is not able to repair them, for he hath long owed £18 to this house and yet oweth it, and also he hath forfeited £40 to this house for not keeping his covenants. . . .

"Master Maidwell, otherwise called the Scottish Friar, hath at mine instance lain three nights in the Charterhouse to examine certain books which I think to be much erroneous. I beseech your Mastership that I may know your pleasure whether he shall tarry here any longer or nay. The man is very honest, but he hath no money to pay."

The book by William Marshall of which twenty-four copies had been given to the Charterhouse was his translation of the "Defensorium Pacis" of Marsilis of Padua, which book, written in the fourteenth century, before the time of Wycklife, against the temporal power of the Pope, had been printed by Marshall as a powerful contribution to the present situation. As he says in the preface, his object was to "helpe further and profyte the chrysten comenweale to the uttermost of my power, namely and

pryncypally in those busynesses and troubles whereby it is and before this tyme hath been unjustly molested, vexed, and troubled by the spyrytuall and ecclesjastycall tyraunt."

But Marshall found to his cost, as Rastall also had in a like case, that the argument against the " ecclesjastycall tyraunt " was not a popular cause. Again like Rastall, he appeals to Cromwell, and tells him that he has spent £34 on the printing of the book, and though it is the best book on the subject it has not sold. Marshall and Rastall were sufferers, at least on the financial side, for their conscience' sake.

Cromwell was a master of detail, and to him Fyloll reports all manner of small items. The Sacristan has taken two or three hundredweight of wax without permission from the storehouse, and when questioned he states that the fathers have ordered him to do so. Fyloll supposes they will sell it to provide clothing for the winter. Perhaps he is going to take this excuse to give them no other provision for this article. In this letter he reports that fifty-six persons are fed in the house daily, besides strangers, and that the servants are looking for their wages and liveries.

There is to be found among the papers of the Record Office what purports to be an exact statement of the daily fare of the inhabitants of the Charterhouse for Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 10th to 13th of October, 1535. It would appear that this was drawn up and sent to Cromwell so that he might judge for himself whether reductions in the feeding might not be made, and perhaps Fyloll took care that plenty should appear on the tables for these days. On Sunday at dinner every monk had furmentye, a hot pie of lampreys, and three eggs ; the lay brothers, salt fish and cheese. Monday, the monks and lay brothers alike had pottage of herbs and plenty of Suffolk or Essex cheese, and three eggs. On Tuesday

came furmentye, oysters, and a piece of ling for each, and on Wednesday pottage of herbs, a great whiting, and two eggs for the monks, and for the lay brothers oysters instead of the eggs.

This bears out what has been said as to the one meal of the Carthusians being a good one, and, furthermore, it did not lack variety, if we may judge from a document of this time. It is endorsed as concerning "The profitable provision of dainty acates [purchases] for the Charterhouse."

This fifteenth-century dietary is very curious, and it is here given in full, but with modernized spelling:—

"A REMEMBRANCE FOR THE CATES [PURCHASES OF FOOD] TO THE PROFIT OF THIS PLACE IN FISH.

"Father Proctor, ye must have some man of the town to be friend to you, though ye give him a reward once in the year, for your profit to search the Steelyard, the Lombards, the Spaniards, the Genoese, the 'Portynggalardes' [Portuguese], the hulks, the hoys, the Bretons, and the Scots' ships.

"Also to search all the wharves between London Bridge and the Tower for victuals with other necessaries to the profit of this place.

"Item, the Steelyard for salt salmon of the Meuse (?), for tunny, for stockfish, both great and small, for wax, for oil, with other necessaries for this place.

"Item, the Spaniards for salt lampreys, great onions, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, vinegar, sardines, swordfish, dolphins, and oil olive, mariners portage, and that is great vantage in figs, raisins, with other.

"Item, the Lombards, for cloves, mace, nutmegs, pepper, ginger, grains [a kind of spice], galinga[le], 'sawnders' [sandal wood], cinnamon, long pepper, raisin[s], and currants, dates, oil olive, with other.

"Item, the 'Portynggals' for mariners fees as portage,

for barrels or bundles of sweet wine, as 'kaperek ossay,' wine sack [vin sec], wine greek [vin grec], Alicante, 'laynty' [? lant, a fish], marmalade, 'fartes of portynggale,'[1] 'portynggald' salt.

"Item, in Flemish hoys, salt fish, mud fish, dry fish, garlic, onions, nuts, pots, linen cloth, cruses of salmon, with many necessaries.

"Item, in Scot's ships, salt salmon 'blottes' [dried], seal 'blottes,' porpoise, barreled salt fish, keeling, halibut heads, barreled Scot's leather [?] with many other necessaries.

"Item, the Western ships as Plymouth, Dartmouth, Fowey, in salt congers, both dry and wet hake, both dry and wet buckhorn [dried whiting], dry skate and puffins.

"Item, the Norfolk and Suffolk ships for white herring, red herring, red sprats in time of the year, and salt fish to buy at Billingsgate.

"Item, at Billingsgate, Calais plaice, great cods, haddock, whiting, gurnard, [ma]ckerel, fresh herring, harvest herring, fresh sprats, thornback . . ., with other [man]ner divers things profitable to the pl[ace].

". . . [w]ill take heed thereto with ready . . ."

Probably all these minute documents came under Cromwell's immediate notice, and this is characteristic of the way all details of government were concentrated in that masterly mind. To Cromwell are probably also due the new rules for the "Order of the Charterhouse," regulations for an absolutely new system of government. There are to be five or six governors appointed, "temporal men, learned, wise, and trusty," of whom some shall be

[1] "Fartes" were a kind of light pastry or puff. It is difficult to see how these could have arrived in a palatable condition if imported from 'Portynggal.' Neither does it seem ascetic fare, which, indeed, is true of many of the Portuguese products.

present at each meal, and lodge there each night. They shall assemble the convent and offer the king's pardon for previous heresies, and death if any offend again. Each monk is to be examined separately from time to time, as to his opinions, and any who wish may be released from their order, and given a stipend " till he have provided himself of a living, so that he conform himself to the king's laws, and to endeavour himself to learn and preach the Word of God, which every priest is bound to do, and yet by their religion, as it is said, they have professed falsely the contrary, that none of them shall never preach the Word of God."

The monks are to be isolated from all communication with the world save through those to whom the governors permit access. " Item, to take from them all manner of books wherein errors be contained, and to let them have the Old Testament, and the New Testament."

" Item, to cause them to show all their ceremonies, and to teach them, and exhort them to leave and forsake all such ceremonies that be nought.

" Item, if they find any of them so obstinate that in nowise will be reformed, then to commit him to prison till the council may take some other direction for them. And they that will be reformed, to sever them from the company of obstinates, and to be gently handled to cause them to utter the secrets and mischiefs used amongst them."

If it had formerly been the command of Cromwell that " none old order of the house is to be broken," it is obvious that now the growing strength of the Protestant party, or the necessary steps towards justifying the dissolution of the monasteries, are leading to a change of policy. There are other directions, such as that a sermon is to be preached by some " discreet " man, and everyone is to be present. And to conclude, as the lay brothers " be more obstinate and more froward than and more unreasonable

than the monks," they too are to be examined, "and the obstinates punished or expulsed, and the others kept for a season for knowledge of divers points to be had from them."

The commissioners are represented by the two seculars whom Chauncy mentions as living at their ease in the Charterhouse and cutting down the dinners of the monks to a small allowance of cheese. Thus, half-starved, bullied, argued at, deprived of all sympathy from the outer world, and with the terrible fate of their brethren in their memory, it is little wonder that one or two of the monks yielded; but by far the larger number of them still remained firm to the dictates of their conscience. Of those who had altered was Thomas Salter, and he had changed his mind, very possibly sincerely, some time before, and had been kept in some sort of confinement for a year. One of the first acts of Whalley was to ask if he might be released, and no doubt he was. Possibly the matter had been exaggerated by the tales of these one or two weak brethren, but Whalley reports to his master that the Carthusian punishments are very severe. He writes that "I perceive right well by many of them, but not all, that they care not to be put from their religion, but they fear that in case they should now swerve and go from their religion, and hereafter the Pope and his adherents should prevail, that then they should be grievously punished (yea, unto death) for breaking of the oath that they have made to the Pope, and no doubt of it they have and use very sore punishments (as it is informed me)."

Of Nicholas Rawlins we have already heard in Fyloll's letter. He had been brought over by Cranmer, and remained with the archbishop at Otford, eating meat, and putting on the vesture of a secular priest. But Cranmer does not appear to have had hard work in obtaining this conversion if the letter from Rawlins to Cromwell, which is quoted below, was, as is probable, written before the visit to Otford. The letter is given

in full because of the intimate picture it gives of the emotion of the times, and also into the inner life and stern purposes of the Carthusians of London.

"To the Ryght Worshipfull Master Cromwell, Secretary unto the Kynges noble grace.

"Certefyeng your Mastership parte of my mynde by this poore and simple and rude manner of wrytyng that ys done in haste without any manner of studyng or discrecion. Where as I do here sey without any seing or reding of them that the kynges noble grace with his commynaltie bothe of the Spiritualte and Temporalte that be lernyd in bothe the lawes, and I do not dought but they have all consciences and a soule to kepe and save as well as I have. The whiche have grauntyd to the Acte of Parliament laste made that the kynges noble grace is the supreme hede of the chirche of Englande with more other grauntes inactyd. Which I do perceyve that our Father Prior that was of this house with other more Fathers of our Religion wolde not consent unto wherfor they sufferyd dethe by the Kynges lawes. Therfor I wolde that your Mastership sholde knowe my poore mynde by this simple writing, that I do bere unto my prince and Kyng as moche Faythe and obediens as a trew subgect ought to do, and as I have byn ever his trew and pore subget and bedeman all the daies of my lyffe, and I do purpose to contynew in the same, and your Mastership shall order me in this matter as you do thinke best, the whiche shulde be to the proffet bothe of my body and soule. Yff I sholde be examynd and sworne before the Fathers and brethren of this order within this house they wold hatte me and wounder at me as a meny of Crowes or dawes wolde do at a tame hawke, for they do suspect me of the good and loving mynde that I do bere unto my prince and Kyng. More over I wolde desire your Mastership to be so good Master unto me as you shall bynde

me to be your dayly bedeman all the dayes of my lyffe by name, that you will cause the Kynges noble grace or his Officers in the same to be so good and gracius to me, as he is nowe the Supreme hede of the chirche of Englande, that I may be dispensyd wyth out of this Religion wherin I was not lawfully professyd, for I ought to have by our Rule and Statute a yere of probacion and I was professyd halffe a yere and iii weke before my yere of probacion, and more ouer in that halff yere I was seke ix wekys and from that tyme unto thys day I haue had never my helthe a fortynet together as all the brethren of this house can bere wytnes that this is trew that I do wytnes. And if I do contynew long in this Religion hit wyll shortyn my lyff sooner than I sholde dye yf that I were a brode agayn in the worlde, which Religion is agaynst the lawe of God wherby it shulde shortyn any mans lyffe. I do insure you the Religion is so harde what with fastyng and wythe the great watche and solitude that there is not vi hole monkes within this cloyster but that they haue one infyrmite or other, the whiche wyll be theyr dethe sooner than God wolde that it shulde be.

"Also this is the very trew cause that I was proffesyd so sone before my yere of probacion. I was so seke dyuers tymes that I wolde haue gone forthe out of this Religion into the worlde a gayn before my professyion made, And by councell of the prior and other of this house they made me to gyve a waye suche goodes and moveabilles as I had or ever that I came into the Religion by cause that I shulde haue none occasyon to goo in the worlde agayn. Also by counsell of some of them they made me to gyue viii pounds in money to this house the whych some of money yf I coulde haue had it agayn I woulde neuer haue byn professyd and so I seid to the prior the same mornyng be fore that I was professyd, And he said to me agayne yf I wolde be professyd I shuld and yf I wold not be professyd I shuld haue neuer a peny agayn yet he hade

North Aisle of the Chapel.

promysed to a frynde of myne acquentans that I shulde haue had my money agayn. And more ouer my Lorde of London that now ys was very harde unto me and sequastred the Fruytte of my benyfyce in the tyme of his visitacion the whiche was shortely after that I came hether and sayd to my parisshyns that I shulde be no longer parson there, for he was patrone of yt, And then I thought it wolde be yvell stryuyng with hym at that time the whiche caused me to be professyd where as I neuer intended hit with Good wyll. And therfor for the loue of Jesus I pray yow to be so good and gracyus Master unto me that I may be dyspensed with out of my Religion into the same state of a Secular Preste as I was be fore, for the preseruacion of my body and lyffe, For suerly I wyll neuer be bounde to be obedient to man agayn in Religion but onely to god and to my prynce.

By your Pore Bedesman. DAN NICHOLAS RAWLYNS,
Monke of the Order of the Carthusians in the house
of the Salutacion of our Lady bysydys London."

John Darley would also " fain be out of the cloister by favour of your mastership." He wishes to be a secular priest, and he has a post waiting for him at Salisbury. He was a man of an unstable and imaginative mind, alternately neglectful and hysterically remorseful as to his religious duties. It is he who suffered the plague of frogs, a legend which probably had some emotional basis. In June of this year, 1535, he claimed to have gone through a further mystical experience, led up to, characteristically of the man, by an appeal to a dying monk to give him some proof of a life beyond the tomb. He declared:

" That I, John Darley, monk of the Charterhouse beside London, had in my time lisence to say service with a father of our religion, named father Raby, a very old man, in so much when he fell sick and lay upon his death bed,

and after the time he was 'anelede' and had received all the sacraments of the church in the presence of all the convent, and when all they were departed, I said unto him, 'Good father Raby, if the dead may come to the quick, I beseech you to come to me,' and he said 'Yea,' and immediately he died the same night, which was in the 'clensyng' days last past, anne XV^e^ XXXIIII. And since that I never did think upon him to Saint John day Baptist, last past.

"Item, the same day at five of the clock at afternoon, I being in contemplation in our entry in our cell, suddenly he appeared unto me in a monk's habit and said to me, 'Why do ye not follow our Father?' And I said, 'Wherefore?' He said, 'For he is a martyr in heaven next unto angels.' And I said, 'Where be all our other Fathers which died as well as he?' He answered and said, 'They be well, but not so well as he.' And then I said to him, 'Father, how do ye?' And he answered and said, 'Well enough.' And I said, 'Father, shall I pray for you?' And he said, 'I am well enough, but prayer both for you and other doeth good'; and so suddenly vanished away.

"Item, upon Saturday next after, at five of the clock in the morning, in the same place in our entry, he appeared again, with a long white beard, and a white staff in his hand, lifting it up; whereupon I was afraid. And then, leaning upon his staff, said to me, 'I am sorry that I lived not to I had been a martyr.' And I said, 'I think ye be as well as ye were a martyr.' And he said, 'Nay, for my Lord of Rochester and our Father was next unto angels in heaven.' And then I said, 'Father, what else?' And then he answered and said the angels of peace did lament and mourn without measure; and so vanished away.

"Written by me, JOHN DARLEY, monk of the Charterhouse, the 27 day of June, the year of our Lord God aforesaid."

John Darley's vision was quickly noised abroad, and the news of the revelation as to the crowns of martyrdom that had rewarded Fisher and the Carthusians even reached Rome. Cromwell also got to hear of the matter, and Darley was summoned before him, examined closely and often, and warned with threats to keep the matter to himself. The high-strung nature of the monk swung to the other extreme, and he now entreated to be released from his convent, and no doubt his wish was granted. Thomas Salter, Nicholas Rawlins, John Darley and Andrew Boorde were therefore the only converts which, after some years' struggle, the king's party could claim to have made.

CHAPTER XI

THE END OF THE STRUGGLE—THE MONKS LEAVE THE CHARTERHOUSE

No effort was made to fill the vacant priorate till Houghton had been dead a year, and then a man was appointed who had bent satisfactorily to the royal will. This monk, William Trafford, had changed his mind in a most complete fashion. In the month of Houghton's execution he had been procurator of the priory of Beauvale, in Nottinghamshire, and the commission for the county came to visit the monastery. The Prior was absent in London, detained in the Tower with Houghton. Trafford almost volunteered the statement that he believed firmly that the Pope was head of the Church Catholic. On being warned and questioned further he said he would abide by this opinion, even to death, and he signed a deposition, and was placed in charge of the sheriff. The commissioners wrote to London to ask how he was to be treated, so as to be an example to the others, and three weeks later he was ordered up there to be examined by Cromwell. A year later he has submitted to the royal will, and has been made Prior of the London Charterhouse. Probably his change of front was due to the arguments of Henry Man, now Prior of Sheen, and, as Visitor for the English Carthusians, at the head of the Order. He was, of course, heartily with the king, and he afterwards ran the gamut of the reformed religion, to die a bishop. When Trafford is made head of the London house, Man sends him to Cromwell with a letter stating that he doubts not that the new Prior "will order himself therein as shall be

to the honour of God and of the king, with much worship to your mastership, honesty to himself, and profit to the said house." Possibly Bedyll also had a part in the conversion, as this cleric is very ready to praise Trafford. " He is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like." And again, " He is as honest a man as ever was in that habit." It is with such meagre evidence impossible to gauge the sincerity of Trafford's change of front, but, in spite of Bedyll's eulogy, he cannot have gained much favour with the authorities, as, on the dissolution, he was only granted a pension of £20, the smallest granted to any Carthusian prior, and in marked contrast to the £216, 13s. 4d., given to Henry Man.

It is noted by Chauncy that it was in the months of May and June, of four successive years, that their sufferings reached the greatest pitch. On the 4th of May, 1536, the very anniversary of Houghton's execution, four of the firmest of the monks were taken from the convent, and sent to other, and more pliant, of the monasteries of their order. John Rochester and James Walworth were sent to Hull, and John Fox and Chauncy himself to Beauvale.

Some months after this Father Fewterer of Sion, in whom the Carthusians had formerly had so much trust, lay on his deathbed, and eight of the London monks were sent to Sion to receive from him a last message, spoken, Chauncy says, not by the man himself, but by the devil speaking through him. He begged for their pardon, as he deeply reproached himself for the advice he had given to their Prior, Houghton. He had encouraged him to die for the cause, and now he saw better, and knew that it was not a cause for which it was lawful to lay down one's life. Such pleading from an old and formerly revered man must have come with great effect to the Carthusians, and many others of the convent at Sion, " assuredly religious men," also exhorted them to

the same end. The eight monks returned to London, some of them of changed mind, but when again among their brethren their "conscience came back to them," and Cromwell was once more confronted with a united body of opposition. Whilst all were thus firm the authorities dared not move, least it meant that they had to put all to death.

However, a change was now not long in coming over this unanimity. Chauncy was not there to chronicle how it took place, if indeed there was anything to say save that the weariness of the struggle began to have its natural effect on the weaker. The strain had lasted for years, and there were many undoubtedly pious men, Catholic in all but the one point, who had yielded long ago, and there was always the feeling that by submission they might save the convent from total supression. In the autumn of 1536, Cromwell can report to the king that the convent is yielding. At the same time when we hear of this, we also find evidence for the belief that Henry, angry at such long opposition, had been in favour of stronger measures, and that it was Cromwell who had been counselling moderation. On the 27th of September, 1536, Ralph Sadler, one of Cromwell's most trusted secretaries, and at that time with Henry at Windsor Castle, reports to his master in London that he has told Henry that Cromwell wished to place before him the matter of the appointment of a new superior for the convent of Sion; "whereunto His Grace answered that it was well done ye did so. 'Howbeit,' quod he, 'the Charterhouse in London is not ordered, as I would have had it. I commanded,' quod he, 'my Lord Privy Seal, a great while ago, to put the monks out of the House, and now he wrote to you,' quod he, 'that they be reconciled, but seeing that they have been so long obstinate, I will not now,' quod he, 'admit their obedience; and so write to my Lord Privy Seal.' This His Grace commanded me

to write unto your Lordship (as I do), which, as you shall have opportunity, ye may temper with his Grace, as by your wisdom shall be thought convenient." There is in this and in the rest of the letter much to show that Cromwell must have had a kindly witty tone in his relations with his responsible lieutenants, and that he did not disapprove of humour as being incompatible with the business quality of a despatch. The king had told Sadler that he must see Cromwell as soon as possible, and Sadler reminded him that the latter will get a letter too late the next day to come that day, and the day after that is Michaelmas. " 'What then,' quod his Grace, 'Michaelmass day is not so high a day.' So that I perceive His Highness will look for you at Michaelmas day, at night, or the next morning after, at the farthest, the sooner the better." Sadler subscribes his letter: " At Windsor, the 27th day of September, at 12 a clock of the night, which is our accustomed hour in the Court to go to bed; with the rude and hasty hand of your Lordship's old servant, and daily Bedesman, RALPH SADLER."

Whether the convent was really ready to yield earlier than the king was willing to accept such submission is difficult to say. It would indeed seem from the above letter that Cromwell had to persuade his obstinate master to the milder course. But it is possible that Cromwell had been misled by a too favourable report from Sion as to the effect of the counsel of the dying Fewterer, which advice was given very shortly before this time. However this may be, it was not till eight months later that the majority of the London Charterhouse accepted the king's supremacy. And even then several monks had been drafted to the convent from other establishments, probably because they could be relied on to give a satisfactory account of themselves. Ten of the fathers and brothers were still found firm enough to refuse to compromise their conscience in any way. But before the

18th of May, 1537, when this split in the London Charterhouse came about, the original devoted band had added two more to the list of Catholic martyrs.

Rochester and Walworth had, a week before, been hanged in chains at York. They had lived twelve months in the Hull Charterhouse. Some time before they went there the Prior had been "sore bent rather to die than to yield to this your royal style," as Archbishop Lee reported to the king, but he eventually gave way to the arguments of Lee. The monastery was then threatened by the act for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, which parliament had passed in the spring of 1536, but being of good report, they were allowed to buy a further lease of life. The convent being now compliant, Rochester and Walworth were treated as recalcitant brethren, and, it would seem, starved to bring them into submission. In the October of 1536 the north was in a blaze with the rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. Yorkshire, in especial, distinguished itself by the fervour of its protest in favour of the old faith, and against the "vilein blood" of Cromwell. After the rising had been dispersed the Duke of Norfolk was left in charge of the country to rule and to punish, and in his progress he came to Hull. Rochester and Walworth appeared before him, perhaps being charged, as they were at their trial later, with sheltering rebels in the monastery; a rather improbable thing, as they were more or less prisoners themselves in the convent. But they soon made it clear that, whether they had sheltered traitors or not, they represented treason in themselves. The duke wrote to Cromwell that he was astonished that such undeniable breakers of the law had not been dealt with in London, and executed there, and he wished to send them back for that purpose now.

Norfolk was one of those who, as far as their duty to their liege lord would permit, threw on every possible

occasion the whole weight of their influence on the side of the old faith. He had recently persuaded the king to withdraw books issued against the Catholic doctrine of purgatory. Rochester knew this, and after his examination he wrote to Norfolk pleading for aid, so that he might be allowed to prove publicly that the king had been deluded. He even hopes that he may be taken to the king's presence, and he would rather die than have the truth cloaked and hidden as it has been. Rochester avows that the duke has been chosen by God to be the king's minister in this, "as ye were when he, by your Grace, stayed Purgatory." So that he may have strength to plead his cause, the monk asks that Norfolk will command that he be given the usual diet of his order. This meagre fare has evidently been denied to him, and he says he is commonly very weak and lacks strength.

But Norfolk's Catholicism did not go as far as this, and he sent on the monk's letter to Cromwell asking what was to be done with such an avowed traitor. The answer came promptly that if they persist they must be "justified and executed." Rochester and Walworth were therefore brought before the duke at York, and "justified." In Norfolk's words, "Two more wilful religious men in manner unlearned I think never suffered." They were hanged in chains at York, on the 11th of May, 1537.

After Rochester and Walworth had hung in their chains for a week, the time of cleavage for their mother convent came. On the eighteenth of May a majority of the convent were found ready to swear that they would "utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the Bishop of Rome." To this they swore by God, all the Saints and the Holy Evangelists. Chauncy says that he knows for certain that those that swore did so against their conscience, and he gives the reasons, "frivolous ones," as he calls them. Their convent was in danger of being overthrown, and all the nation had followed the king. They

hoped that by this act of submission they would be allowed to remain as a community. They besought God that He, knowing their hearts, would accept this ceremony, by which they placed their hand on the book of the holy Gospel, whilst affirming the royal will, as of outward power only, " as a mark of veneration for the holy words, inscribed in the gospel, in order that the house might be preserved, if it please Thee." Not a very honourable evasion.

Of the twenty-one who thus swore only thirteen belong to the original number of those under Prior Houghton, seven names represent monks transferred to the London house, probably, as has been said, in order that they might swell the number of the compliant, and the remaining name is that of the Prior, William Trafford. But there were still ten men, who, placing the salvation of their souls above the preservation of the house of stone, firmly refused the oath. These were three priests, Richard Bere, Thomas Johnson, and Thomas Green ; one deacon, John Davy ; and no less than six lay brothers, Robert Salt, William Greenwood, Thomas Reding, Thomas Scriven, Walter Pierson, and William Horn. After all the long strain of persecution these men remained constant to the faith for which six of their community had already died. Eleven days later they were taken to the prison of Newgate. To be committed to a common prison like this was often equivalent to being condemned to death. Probably it was intended that they should thus die, out of sight of the world. Though Chauncy says that Cromwell, when he heard that all save one were dead, swore with a great oath that he had reserved them for a worse fate, he is almost certainly wrong. Cromwell knew well what would happen to ten men chained in filthy surroundings, and, it would appear, even starved. Their lives were prolonged by the courage of a devout Catholic woman, Margaret Clement. We learn what this woman did from a manuscript in

the possession of the Priory of Our Blessed Lady of Nazareth at Bruges, which has been edited by the Rev. John Morris, S.J.

Margaret Clement, whose maiden name was Giggs, had been in the household of Sir Thomas More, who recognised her inclination to virtue and learning, and brought her up as a companion to his own daughter Margaret, and taught them Latin and Greek together. She appears in Holbein's sketch of the More family. Margaret Giggs married John Clement, and More stood godfather to their little boy. In his last letter from prison he writes: "I send now to my good daughter Clement her algorism stone, and send her and my godson, and all hers, God's blessing and mine." More's spirit had descended on his adopted daughter, who, hearing of the imprisonment of the Carthusians, and, "bearing a singular devotion unto that holy Order, and moved with great compassion of those holy Fathers, she dealt with the gaoler that she might secretly have access unto them, and withal did win him with money that he was content to let her come into the prison to them, which she did very often, attiring and disguising herself as a milkmaid, with a great pail upon her head full of meat, wherewith she fed that blessed company, putting meat into their mouths, they being tied and not able to stir, nor to help themselves, which having done, she afterwards took from them their natural filth.

"This pious work she continued for divers days, until at last the king, inquiring of them if they were not dead, and understanding that they were not yet dead, to his great admiration, commanded a straiter watch to be set over them, so that the keeper durst not let in this good woman any more, fearing it might cost him his head if it should be discovered. Nevertheless, what with her importunity, and by force of money, she obtained of him that he let her go up to the tiles, right over the close prison

where the blessed Fathers were. O rare example and courage of a woman ! And so she, uncovering the ceiling or tiles over their heads, by a string let them down meat in a basket ; approaching the same as well as she could unto their mouths as they did stand chained against the posts. But they not being able to feed themselves out of the basket, or very little, and the gaoler, fearing very much that it should be perceived, in the end refused to let her come any more ; and so, soon after, they languished and pined away, one after another, what with the stink and want of food and other miseries which they there endured."

When on her deathbed this woman, calling her husband to her, told him " that the time of her departing was now come and she might stay no longer, for that there were standing about her bed the Reverend Fathers, monks of the Charterhouse whom she had relieved in prison in England, and did call upon her to come away with them, and that therefore she could stay no longer, because they did expect her, which seemed a strange talk unto him. Doubting she might speak idly by reason of her sickness, he called unto her the ghostly father, a Reverend Father of the Franciscans, then living in Mechlin, to examine and talk with her, to whom she constantly made answer, that she was no way beside herself, but declared that she had still the sight of the Charterhouse monks before her, standing about her bedside, and inviting her to come away with them, as she had told her husband. . . . At her very departure she did see all those Carthusians in their habit perfectly appear before her, which with a smiling countenance she so expressed to those about her that it was admirable to the beholders."

It is claimed that the spirits of the Carthusian martyrs also manifested themselves to the convent at Coventry before its dissolution. A certain monk there wished to destroy himself, and attempted to throw himself into a pond in the centre of the cloister, but was prevented by a mysterious

influence, pushing against him. When his fellow monks found him there they saw that interposed between him and the water were the forms of the dead brethren, invisible to the unworthy monk, though seen plainly by themselves.

The ten Carthusians confined in Newgate did not wait long to be released by death. In less than a month an account of what is happening is given in a further abominable letter from Archdeacon Bedyll. With a singular lack of charity, and an overweening confidence in his own position, he now claims that the Carthusians are being "despatched by the hand of God."

"My very good Lord, after my most hearty commendations, it shall please your Lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here at London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour long time continued against the King's Grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you, by this bill enclosed; whereof, considering their behaviour and the whole matter, I am not sorry, but would that all such as love not the King's Highness and his worldly honour were in like case. My Lord, as ye may, I desire you in the way of charity, and none otherwise, to be good lord to the prior of the said Charterhouse, which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit (or else I am much deceived), and is one which never offended the King's Grace by disobedience of his laws, but hath laboured very sore continually for the reformation of his brethren, and now at the last at mine exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands, and goods into the King's hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my Lord, that the said Prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortations made unto him to surrender his said

house, and think that he might have kept the same if your Lordship and I had not led him to the said surrender. But surely I believe that I know the man so well that how so ever he be ordered he will be contented without grudge; he is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like.

"As touching the house of the Charterhouse, I pray God, if it shall please the King to alter it, that it may be turned into a better use, seeing it is in the face of our world, and much communication will run thereof throughout this realm; for London is the common country of all England, from which is derived to all parts of this realm all good and ill occurrent here.

From London the 14th day of June,
By your Lordship's at commandment,
THOMAS BEDYLL.

"(*Enclosure.*)

"There be departed:—Brother William Greenwode, Dan John Davye, Brother Robert Salt, Brother Walter Peereson, Dan Thomas Greene.

"There be even at the point of death:—Brother Thomas Scryven, Brother Thomas Reedyng.

"There be sick:—Dan Thomas Johnson, Brother William Horn, one is whole:—Dan Bere."

The psychology of the man who, referring to this cold-blooded list, could claim that it recorded the hand of God is an unpleasant mystery.

There is a document, formerly belonging to the Carthusian Order, which gives the dates on which these martyrs died, and, however the figures were gathered together, they agree remarkably with Bedyll's letter. Of those who survived when he wrote, Thomas Scriven died the next day, and Thomas Redyng the day after that. Three remained, of whom Richard Bere died on the 9th of August, and Thomas Johnson on the 20th of September. The sole survivor, William Horn, lay brother, who was

ill when Bedyll wrote, recovered, and was afterwards removed to the Tower. Three years later he left there, strapped to his hurdle of martyrdom, thus ending the roll of the English Carthusians, who died for the Catholic faith. They were eighteen in number, sixteen of them from the London convent.

It was a time of terror for England when these monks were dying in Newgate. John Hussee, servant of Lord Lisle, writing to his master at Calais, gives him the news. Hussey is to suffer at Lincoln, Constable at York, and Aske is to be hanged in chains at York. On Saturday Darcy will suffer on Tower Hill (these are the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and though Hussee does not speak of it, Lady Bulmer was burned at Smithfield, and others suffered at Tyburn about this time). Eight of the monks of the Charterhouse are dead in Newgate, and, Hussee concludes, "God send you a long life and a goodly boy."

To return to the conforming Carthusians. Their humiliation was not yet complete, they were being urged to surrender the priory, and Bedyll was still the instrument of pressure. On the 4th of June he writes to Cromwell that he has succeeded. He will bring the surrender the next day, signed with the convent seal, " or else they shall deceive me very much of mine expectation." He was deceived, though he had not long to wait. On the 10th of June the Charterhouse of London surrendered to King Henry. The convent humbled itself, confessing that it had " grievously offended the most illustrious royal majesty of England," and that the confiscation of its goods and the death of the bodies of its inhabitants has been justly merited. Therefore the monks freely rendered up all that was theirs to the will of the royal clemency. They still hoped to be allowed to continue to live, in such peace as their consciences would permit, the life of their Order in the old building. But they were only to be allowed to do even this for a few months longer.

There were yet two monks, Chauncy and Fox, who had not submitted. They were at Beauvale, and when Henry Man, the Visitor of the Order, came there in August, he found them still "very scrupulous in the matter concerning the Bishop of Rome." They were eager to return home to their convent, but they were sent first of all to Sion, there to come under the persuasion of Copinger, the successor to Fewterer. They took with them a letter from Man, saying that though they are scrupulous yet "they be not obstinate. We trust ye shall find them reasonable and tractable, for they be much desirous to have your council, and to speak with you *facie ad faciem.* Each of them hath a book wherein be such authorities as they do lean unto. . . . Therefore, good Father, for the love that you have to God's honour and the King's, to the wealth of their souls help to remove their scruples, as our trust is that you will, . . . and we shall see that such cost as they shall put your house to shall be recompensed by the grace of Jesus, who augment his grace in you."

The London monks heard that their two brethren, Chauncy and Fox, had been sent to Sion, and two of them, who had previously experienced the arguments of Copinger, now wrote urging him to use his best efforts in this case too. They say that they "have not yet forgotten the pains and patience and longanimity that ye had with us when we were with you, and how hard it was (and in a manner impossible) to us to follow your council. But in process of time we did follow your council, thanks be to Jesu. This we write, for we suppose it to be thus with our brethren. . . . Glad would we be to hear that they would surrender their wits and consciences to you, that they might come home, and as bright lanterns show the light of religious conversation amongst us, as they can right well, to God be glory. . . . We cannot be fully merry till we hear some good tidings from you of them.

. . . Written in our house of the Charterhouse, London, this Tuesday, very early in the morning, by your twins.

WILLIAM BROKE.
B. BURGOYN."

The "twins," Broke and Burgoyn, seem to have clung together for some years after this, as their names tend to appear together in the accounts of the payments of the various pensions.

To these accumulating arguments, the character of which may be guessed, Chauncy and Fox eventually yielded. They must have felt that they stood alone in this opposition to the king, and, according to Chauncy, still against their conscience, they gave way, hoping that some fragment of the old life might be allowed to continue in the convent. Catholic writers might well claim that it was by the providence of God that Chauncy was spared, through the bitter gate of his apostacy, to relate for future generations, in his moving narrative, the story of his heroic brethren and community.

So Chauncy and Fox went back to their old convent, hoping for the best. But monasticism was going down fast about them. If all had been as true to their ideals and as firm as the London Charterhouse it might have been different, but they were to share the fate of the weaker members. On the 15th of November, 1538, the monks, no doubt in deep sorrow and contrition, filed out of the gateway to scatter into the world. The remnant of the community that John Houghton had inspired was finally dispersed. Chauncy laments; "O house of the glorious Virgin, most sweet Mother of God, heretofore fenced round with ramparts, and now deserted in sadness, O Mistress among the people, thy name and thy memory are ever the desire of my soul." But though the London Carthusians had yielded, surely no other monastery has gone through such a trial. Their

secular epitaph is written in the list of those monks who are to draw a pension, and Thomas Cromwell signs the paper with his own hand.

Of the Carthusians who were thus dispersed, some remained in England, but others, as the opportunity occurred, escaped to Flanders, that they might there re-enter their religion. It is these who are referred to in an act of the privy council in 1547, in which it was stated that the council " were informed of certain Englishmen, late monks of the Charterhouse, who, retaining still in their hearts their old superstition and popish monkery, had found the means to convey themselves secretly over the sea into Flanders, where they have again received their monk's habit and profession, and never the less procured with their friends here to have the payment of their pensions alloted by the King's majesty continued unto them as if they remained still in some parts of England." The Privy Council therefore enacts that the pensioner must appear himself, or send a certificate attested by two justices of the peace that he is in the realm.

Chauncy and Brother Hugh Taylor had taken vows again at Bruges, and the former rose to be Sacristan in the convent there. When Mary came to power, and Catholicism was once more legal in England, the Grand Chapter instructed him to return and re-establish there the Carthusian province. He went with two companions, and they were greeted with kindness by the Queen and Cardinal Pole. But it was no easy matter to get those who had absorbed monastic property to disgorge, and time went by with the Carthusians still in the apartments which had been given them in the palace of the Savoy, a most unsuitable place for followers of Bruno. Two of the monks died there and lie buried in the Savoy Chapel. We cannot tell whether Chauncy had hoped to live once more in his old convent, but even Catholic Mary had regranted this to its wealthy proprietor. A refoundation

was at last made at Sheen, and to this gathered such of the English Carthusians as had survived in body and spirit, and Chauncy was made Prior.

Two years afterwards Elizabeth succeeded Mary, and the religious compromise of Henry VIII. came again into force. Chauncy thought of appealing to the Queen that they might remain, but soon recognised that they must once more return to Flanders. Most of the monks were taken in at Bruges, and Chauncy, though a foreigner, became Prior there. This led to friction, and the English were authorised to found a separate community. In 1569 a new Carthusian convent was founded for them in Bruges, and named Sheen Anglorum. Here the monks lived with many meditations on the hope that their religion might yet return to England. The Lord appeared in a vision to Hugh Taylor to tell him " that there should be yet thirty-three Charterhouses in England," and the monks remembered a revelation to much the same effect that had been made to a certain Prior Norton some years before. It would be unkind to the memory of Hugh Taylor to suggest that his imagination had been stimulated by memory of the current earlier vision.

The last there is to relate of medieval Carthusianism in England is of a piece with the mysticism of much that has already been told. Round the deserted buildings at Sheen there gathered the belief that certain of the neighbours " heard for nine nights together the monks that Father Chauncy had buried in Sheen to have sung service with light in the church ; and when they did of purpose set ladders to the church wall, to see them in the church, suddenly they ceased. And they heard Father Fletcher's voice, which everyone knew, above them all."

But further trials were in store. The monks were turned out of Bruges by the Dutch soldiers, and wandered in Flanders till they settled once more in Louvain.

Chauncy, when seventy-seven years old, set out for Madrid to plead with Philip for further funds. On his return he was taken ill in Paris, and died there. It was then discovered that he had worn an iron chain round his body, as a penance for his submission to Henry. He had been much respected in his latter years. Further wanderings led the community to stay in Antwerp and Mechlin, to settle more permanently at Nieuport. A strange episode of their stay here is that they were able, it is said, through their English friends to procure from Oliver Cromwell a licence for the fishermen of the town to work unmolested during the war. In gratitude the fishermen granted a portion of each catch to the convent. Later on the Charterhouse owned a fishing boat of its own, calling it the " St Bruno," and this vessel James of York, then High Admiral, guarded by letters of protection. Sheen Anglorum, at the height of its prosperity, was smitten, in 1693, by a strange epidemic, which carried off all the older monks. Finally, after existing as an English community until 1783, the last link with medieval English Carthusianism was severed with its dissolution by an edict of the Emperor Joseph II.

The Order re-entered England with the foundation of the present convent of Parkminster, in Sussex. This is now, since it has taken in some of the French exiles, the largest Carthusian monastery in the world. It is the only English house, but one fancies that the Order has not forgotten the prophetic number of thirty-three as the ideal for the future.

It was not till 1841 that the first suggestion was made of obtaining the beatification of the Carthusian martyrs, but the English Catholic bishops, only just seated in the thrones of the restored hierarchy, did not consider the moment propitious for approaching the Pope on the matter. Probably they considered this public honouring would stir too violently the sentiment of

THE LANDING OF THE GRAND STAIRCASE.

England. The question was allowed to lapse, and it was not till 1886 that the eighteen Carthusians, together with thirty-six others, cleric and lay, who had died for the Catholic faith in England, received the honour of beatification. Henceforth they were to be known, by their co-religionists, by the title of "Blessed," and the 4th of May, the anniversary of the martyrdom of "Blessed John Houghton," was appointed as the festival to be held in their honour.

Dom Lawrence Hendriks has avowed the hope that if the present owners of the Charterhouse should part with their property, though the buildings could never again, from their situation, become a Carthusian monastery, the chapel at least may be restored to its old communion, and become the chapel of the blessed martyrs who at one time worshipped there.

CHAPTER XII

THE PLUNDERING OF THE CONVENT

After the monks had left their convent it was not long before the birds of prey gathered round the empty buildings. It was a period of selfish enrichment, when everyone took what he could of the spoils of the monastic property; the greater the man the bigger his share. It happens that in the case of the Charterhouse we have a detailed account of the process of stripping the place of everything which could be moved, or had value. William Dale had been put in charge of the house, and, honest man that he was, or would have it appear that he was, it became necessary that his credit should be cleared as to what was missing from the place after it had been in his charge for eighteen months. Accordingly he drew up a long statement, in which he plays the part of hero, self-appointed it may be, and some of the items of this document are now quoted. Fruit trees, bay trees, fish from the pond, internal and external fittings had been dispersed to the four points of the compass.

"Item, delivered to the late Prior of the said house, all the wood given to the said late Prior by the king's visitors, which was sold for £15.

"Item, delivered to the king's gardener, coming to the said Daylle in the king's name, for the king's garden at Chelsea, all such bays, rosemary, grafts, and other such like things as was meet for his grace in the said garden, showing unto the said Daylle the king's commission for the same.

"Item, delivered unto Master Richard Cromwell's

gardeners, all such bay trees and grafts as they thought convenient for them.

" Item, delivered to Master Fitz Hugh, a whole cell of wainscot as it stood, by Master Richard Cromwell's token, which was a gold ring.

" Item, certain brethren took away (the fittings of) their cells as they stood, by your mastership's commandment as they say.

" Item, all the kitchen stuff, and buttery stuff, sold to Doctor Cave is had away by Master Doctor Cave's servant, as it was priced by the visitors.

" Item, Doctor Byllowse's servant had two cart load of hay away, by commandment of the visitors.

" Item, delivered to Sir Arthur Darcy the custody of three small cells adjoining to his house, which he had of my Lord Privy Seal by Master Chancellor of the augmentation's commandment, upon a token from my Lord Privy Seal, and by the said Master Lee's assent.

" Item, delivered to Master Doctor Talbote, the custody of the new cell, by the commissioner's commandment.

" Item, delivered to Master Wuddall, the custody of one cell, by Master Doctor Lee's commandment and Master Thacker's.

" Item, sold and delivered to Master Pickering, by Master Doctor Cave's commandment, all the wheat and malt in the house.

" Item, delivered to Master William Dune, for the use of Master Doctor Lee, twelve elmen boards and quarters as many as made the full of a load.

" Item, delivered to Dune, one grindstone.

" Item, delivered to the king's gardener, the 22 of November, two loads of grafts.

" Item, delivered to the king's gardener, the 25 of November, one load of grass.

" Item, delivered to the cater of my Lord Privy Seal's house, three baskets of herbs.

"Item, delivered to the king's gardener, the 23 of November, three loads of bay trees.

"Item, delivered to the king's gardeners, out of the orchard of the Charterhouse, three trees, grafts of all sorts as doth appear by the pits where they were taken—in all 91 trees.

"Item, sold and delivered to Master Doctor Cave, all the vinegar.

Item, delivered to Master Semer and Master Smith, on St Nicholas eve last 200 carps.

"Item, delivered to Fey's mill pond to Doctor Layton, 100 carps for the king's store.

"Item, to Master Layton, twelve car load of timber, and six car load of stones.

"Item, delivered to Master Brooke, all the new timber in the Charterhouse wood-yard bought for the goodman of the Splayed Eagle in 'Gratyus' (Gracechurch) Street.

"Item, to the said Master Brooke, all the hay that Master Doctor Bell has left behind him in the Charterhouse in London.

"Item, Master Doctor Layton's servant fetched away four merlin birds and all things belonging thereto.

"Item, delivered to Master Layton, three boards in the bakehouse, and other stuff thereto belonging.

"Item, delivered to Master Layton, a bundle of rose trees.

"Item, delivered to Master Haydon, Receiver of the Charterhouse, all the wainscot in the corner cell, the 23 of January.

"Item, delivered to the said Master Haydon, 22 new pipes of lead, the said 23 of January, by the commandment of the Chancellor as he said.

"Item, the said Master Haydon has taken and laid up all the timber and stones that he could find about the Charterhouse which was necessary for the king's use.

"Item, delivered to the said Master Haydon, 22 cases of

glass, which were taken down by Owen and delivered to him to keep in safe guard for fear of stealing. . . .

"Item, there was one little Sir William defaced and took down all the new wainscot in a cell which was late billeted to his own use as he intended. Notwithstanding the truth is that that one William Daylle and George Wudworth, servants unto my Lord Privy Seal, found the said wainscot where the said Sir William had laid it up; and we took it away from thence, and kept it to such time as we were imprisoned, and then we were glad to sell it to keep us with.

"Item, the other two cells of the said twenty, which one Master Cauton did keep, which two cells are spoiled, but in my conscience no fault in the said Cauton, nor none of his folk, for I never knew the said Cauton nor none of his hurt the said house nor the orchard at any time, but as an honest man and true keeper; and so did none but only Master Hurde and the said Cauton, keeper of the said orchard. . . .

"Item, for the great clock, a gentleman called Master Mins brought it and paid for it; and one Master Polstead did send me, William Daylle, a ring off his finger, commanding me to deliver the said clock, and I told him I could not come to it, for Dr Kew had the keys of the belfry; and so his servant delivered the said clock to Master Mins. . . .

"Item, the said Haydon gathered all the wood, timber, and stone, lying abroad in the Charterhouse, to the kings use as he said. . . .

"Item, Thomas Owen found and took away six cisterns of lead, and delivered them to the said Haydon. . . .

"Item, the said Thomas has one of the six tables of the Frater.

"Item, Hilton in Chancery Lane has one of the said tables.

"Item, one Davison at Pauls Wharf has one of the said

tables, which he carried through the Earl of Angus' house.

"Item, all the wainscot that doth lack within the Frater was given to Master Sword-Bearer of London, by Master Thacker's token.

"Item, all the wainscot, lead, and glass, with all other things lacking within the three cells in the keeping of Sir Marmaduke Constable, was clean gone before his coming to them. . . .

"Item, I have taken down as much glass as did make and repair a dozen windows, as well within the porters lodge as in other places within the house. As for the rest of the glass of the said house, I will depose upon a book, I never had nor knew set to any use.

"Item, all the cocks and pipes wanting within the said house were sold by Thomas Owen to divers persons, which confesses the same; and were committed to his charge only, for the which also he takes his wage."

It would almost seem that Master William Daylle doth protest too much. And our suspicions are perhaps confirmed by his account of the extraordinary articles with which the departing monks had laden themselves. Daylle tells us that the visitors had licensed them to take "such things as were meet for them, as Thomas Owen and John Waner say, who took with them much of the wainscot, as then did appear." And later William Daylle returns to the charge. "Item, the said visitors did give all the beds and books to the brethren which dwelt in the said cells. Some of the brethren took away, through the said gift, certain boards of wainscot, which defaced the cells very sore."

The visitors themselves had their picking. "Item, Master Doctor Layton's servant sent away the new cupboard, and the bench, out of the drinking buttery. Item, Doctor Cave's servant sent away one round table forth of the said buttery, and forth of the Prior's parlour

another round table. Item, the said visitors did give away four great painted tables, standing in every four corner of the cloister of the said Charterhouse."

The faithful custodian concludes his report in a way most characteristic of his kind, wordy protestors that they are of their own innocence and good stewardship.

" Item, sir, I desire your good mastership, seeing that Master Mildmay, the king's Auditor, has sworn me, William Daylle, to show the truth of all the stuff being gone out of the Charterhouse, therefore, sir, I desire your good mastership, for the king's advantage and for your worship, to cause Gerard Haydon and Brother Richard and Thomas Owen to be sworn upon a book what things that have known go out of the Charterhouse by themselves and others ; and I doubt not it shall be wholly for the king's advantage if they be true men.

" Also, sir, I desire your mastership of your goodness to be so good unto me to speak some good word for me, being a poor man which has kept the Charterhouse the space of a year and a half, and was promised of the visitors eight pence a day for keeping of the said. And I the said keeper had never penny therefore but £3. 6. 8., for the which I do lose the best yeoman's master in this realm, the which I had of truly paid £5 and three liveries by year. Therefore, sir, for the love of God, and in the way of charity, having no master nor wages, and my wife lying sick this twelvemonth on me, your mastership having the name of [one] that takes pity of every poor man and woman ; wherefore I trust ye will have pity on me, so I can say no more to your good mastership, but I put me in your will and mercy. Where I have offended you here in this book, so He that brought you save you and have you in His keeping at his pleasure at all times. Written by me,

WILLIAM DAYLLE."

Chauncy laments over the horrors that came to his old

convent after the dissolution. The images of saints and the crucifixes were "hewn with axes," and those who were in charge leapt, danced, and played dice, on the holy altars, and did other "detestable and abominable things." It is even said that the buildings were, at one time, used as a brothel, and a place for wrestling matches, and it was a relief to the pious monk when he heard that the house had been turned into a private dwelling-place by Sir Edward North, and the buildings thus purified to a certain extent, even though the chapel should be used as a dining hall, as he reports. One use of the Charterhouse before North had it was to serve as a store for the king's "hales and tents," that is, various warlike materials. So that the six and a half years between the dissolution of the monastery and the grant to North are the least glorious of any during the existence of the Charterhouse.

From the time of the departure of the monks the Charterhouse disappears for a period from the records of the age, save for such documents as refer to the process of the distribution of the spoils. Cromwell notes it as among those monasteries "gotten to the king's use since Christmas," and for some years the merry process of dividing up goes on. Lord Mordaunt writes to Cromwell to speak to the king that he may purchase his house, which was one of the endowments of the Charterhouse. The noble writer wishes that the mighty Thomas had as loving a heart to him as he has had to Cromwell ever since the latter "moved him for marriage of Sir Michael Fyssher's son's daughter." Lord Mordaunt ends with the suggestive plaint that the king has never given him anything. Whether he did get anything we do not know, but Sir Thomas Pope, the king's armourer, received 3 tenements, Richard Dey, king's servant, two more, and another king's servant, Thomas Playfoot, a further pair ; and there were other transactions. A special office had been formed to deal with the monastic property, and this was appropri-

EXTERIOR OF THE DINING-HALL.

ately called the Court for the Augmentation of the Crown Revenues. One John Banister was receiver there, and he arranged a bargain for himself, and received several houses in consideration of his ' domicile called a crane ' upon the harbour of Calais, having been broken by an overcharge of the king's timber.

However, not all of the Charterhouse property went into private hands. The White Hart in Holbourne became part of the endowment of the newly formed chapter of Gloucester. King's College, Cambridge, formerly had to pay a pension of £33, 6s. 8d. to the Charterhouse. They petitioned that they might be released from this, and the king granted their request. Still very little of the property went to such religious or educational purposes. The king wished to form a body of people interested in opposing any reversal of his policy, and he found his subjects most willing to enrol themselves in this band.

There is an episode in connection with one of the properties of the Charterhouse which throws a side light on the great movements of the day. John Neville, Lord Latimer, had obtained a lease, in 1531, of a mansion at the east end of the churchyard of the Charterhouse, together with stables and gardens lying between the cloister and the house and garden of Ralph Warren, Alderman. This had been the town mansion of the Abbot of Pershore, and Lord Latimer seems fortunate in obtaining a lease for 60 years at the picturesque rent of a red rose on St John Baptist's Day, if asked for. But there had been other transactions as will appear. When, in 1536, the north of England rose in revolt, Lord Latimer joined in this Pilgrimage of Grace. He was afterwards able to make his peace with the authorities, but he was then in the grip of the all-powerful and hated Cromwell, and Cromwell wanted money. We find Latimer writing next year to the Chancellor that " you were pleased to accept of me last year a small fee of

20 nobles, payable yearly," and he sends it on. But worse was to follow. The nobleman writes again in September, 1537:—

"Where your lordship desires for one of your friends my house within "Chartusyes" churchyard, beside London, I assure you the getting of the lease of it cost me 100 marks besides other pleasures that I did the house. I wanted it because it stands in good air out of the press of the city, and I have no other place to lie at when I come to London." Nevertheless, to do Cromwell a kindness, he will surrender it though he seek a lodging at Michaelmas himself. Let it be remembered that one of the main objects of the Pilgrimage of Grace, of which Latimer had been a leader, had been the removal of "vilein blood" from the king's council, that is the upstart Cromwell. Think of the outburst of Lord Darcy, at his trial this year: "Cromwell, it is thou that art the very special and chief causer of all this rebellion and mischief. . . . I trust that ere thou die, though thou wouldest procure all the noblemen's heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet shall there one head remain that shall strike off thy head." (It is Cromwell's own hand which records this speech among the MSS. of the Record Office.) It is then possible to imagine the helpless wrath of Lord Latimer as he wrote, and the terrible hatred that his whole class bore to Cromwell.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHARTERHOUSE AS A PALACE

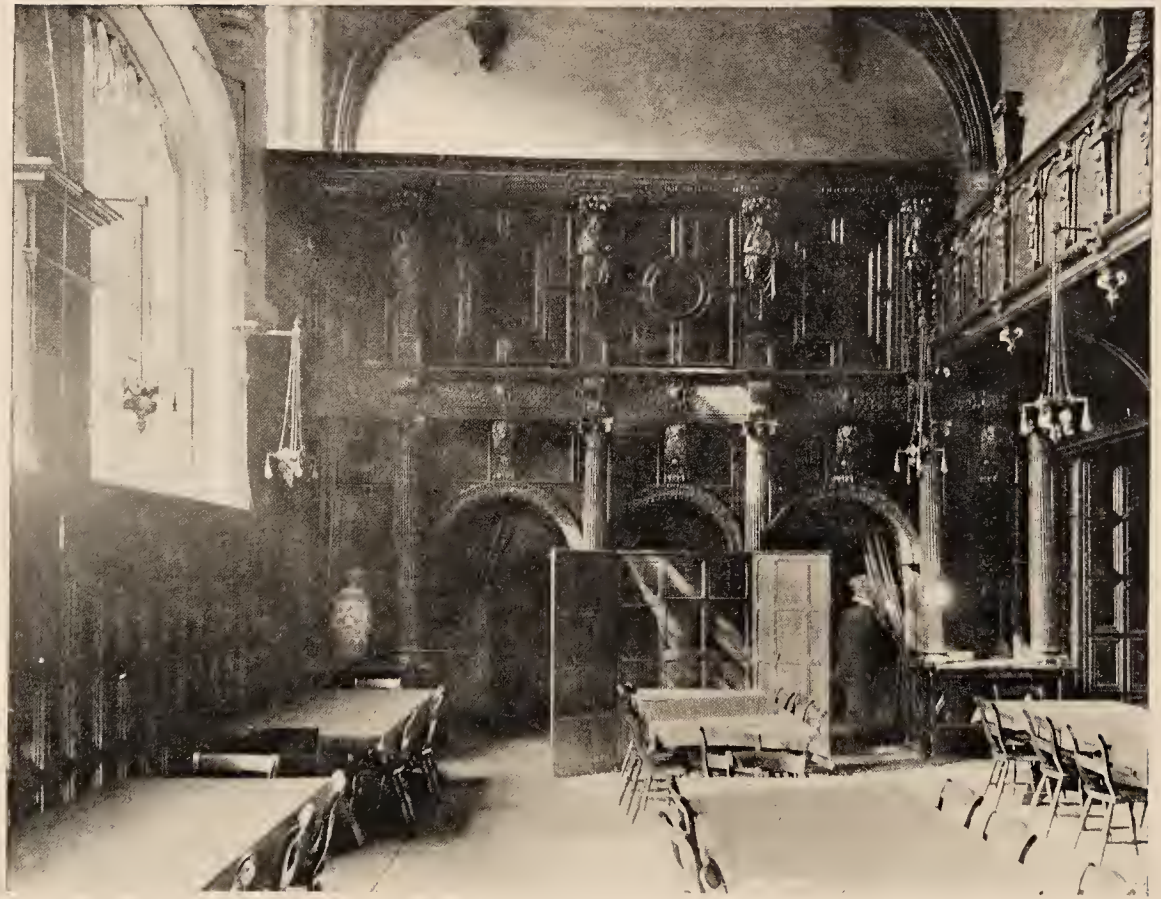
On the 14th of April, 1545, the Charterhouse passed into the possession of Sir Edward North, and thus entered on its brilliant period as a noble's mansion or palace. North was a lawyer, and one of those useful servants of Henry who were enriched by their master, and who thus were able to found new noble families. The present Earls of Guildford are the descendants of the first private owner of the Charterhouse. Sir Edward had served the king in various capacities, and about this time was made joint-chancellor, together with Sir Richard Rich, of the Court of Augmentations, that state office created to deal with those desirable accretions of income which came to the royal hands from the monasteries. North may have received the Charterhouse as a reward for his work in this capacity. However, the paths of those who had to deal with Henry in his last years were not always rose strewn. One day a messenger came knocking at the Charterhouse gate, a man whom North knew as an enemy to himself. The king demanded that North should instantly repair to court, and in anxious obedience he went, and was admitted to the presence. The royal lion spoke not a word for some time, continuing only to walk up and down the room, throwing a glance at North from time to time, which terrible attentions he received with a "very still and sober carriage."

At last the king broke out into these words: "'We are informed that you have cheated us of certain lands in Middlesex.' Whereupon having received none other than

a plain and humble negation, after some little time he replied, ' How was it then, did we give those lands to you ? ' Whereunto Sir Edward answered, ' Yes, Sir, your Majesty was pleased so to do.' Whereupon, having paused a little, the king put on a milder countenance, and calling him to a cupboard, conferred privately with him for a long time." The storm had blown over, and North was secure in possession of the lands, very possibly it was the Charterhouse itself, and the king showed his confidence by appointing him one of the trustees of his will.

North was probably of Catholic sympathies, though these did not prevent him from absorbing an old monastery, and he was no doubt one of those who would have wished the king's testament to be carried out more sincerely than it was. He fell into disfavour with those who seized the chief power in the minority of Edward, and though he continued to be of the Privy Council, he had to resign his Chancellorship of the Augmentations. Also it would appear that he either sold, or was forced to relinquish the Charterhouse, as this was the property of the Duke of Northumberland at the death of Edward. The duke was at any rate one of the most unscrupulous of those who enriched themselves during this age of plunder. Nothing is known of his connection with the Charterhouse. As it was a truly palatial house, and so convenient to London, it is possible he used it as his own dwelling-place. If so, it was a centre of English history during that time when the Duke was endeavouring to fix his own rule on the country.

Northumberland compelled Sir Edward North to sign the deed in favour of Lady Jane Grey, but as quickly as possible after the death of Edward, North declared for Queen Mary, and when this lady came to power she rewarded him by a regrant of the Charterhouse which had been forfeited by the attainder of Northumberland. Soon after, in April, 1554, Mary made him Baron North of



THE DINING-HALL.

Kirtling, and three months later the new peer formed one of the company of lords sent to welcome Philip of Spain at Southampton. Later in the reign he was one of a commission for the suppression of heresy. But though he was a cordial supporter of the Marian reaction, Elizabeth, when she succeeded her sister, soon honoured him with her attentions. Before she entered her capital city she stayed several days at the Charterhouse. As recorded in Stow's Annals, "On the nineteenth of November, the Queen came from Hatfield, being met by the Bishops at Highgate, who kneeling, acknowledged their allegiance, which she very graciously accepted, giving to every one of them her hand to kiss except Bishop Bonner which she omitted for sundry severities, in the time of his authority, and was very dutifully, and honourably met by the Lord Mayor and whole estate of London, and so brought to the Charterhouse, where she stayed many days, from thence entered in at Cripplegate, rid in state along by the wall to the Tower." No doubt as Elizabeth, in the dusk of a November afternoon, came to the gate of the Charterhouse, she received a foretaste of the love the people were to bear to her in the joy and acclamation with which she was greeted on the way. The queen stayed till the 28th of the month, and then set forth in her chariot "about two of the clocke in the afternoone." The days of her visit must have been crowded with business, and many a person of importance must have come to the Charterhouse then.

Nearly three years later Elizabeth once more honoured Lord North with a visit. On the 10th of July, 1561, she came by water to the Tower, visited the mint, and according to the custom of mighty visitors, showed her interest in the work there by coining several pieces with her own royal hands. At five in the evening she left the Tower in state. Before her went on horseback, Trumpeters, the Gentlemen Pensioners, Heralds of Arms, the Sergeant-at

Arms, then gentlemen and lords, and the Lord Hunsdon bearing the sword immediately preceded the Queen, and after her rode the ladies of the court. By Tower Hill, Aldgate, and Houndsditch the cavalcade reached the open country to the north of London, and so, in the evening light, came over the fields to the Charterhouse, where Elizabeth stayed four days. One day she paid a visit to Cecil at the Savoy, going thence by Clerkenwell and over the fields. Many of the council and great lords and ladies were there to meet the queen, and " great cheer made till midnight," Elizabeth then going back by torchlight to sleep at the Charterhouse. On the day after this she started on a grand procession through London on her way into Essex on a Progress. No doubt it was because of this that she had avoided the city before by coming across the fields to the Charterhouse. Now she left by way of Smithfield, and, entering Newgate, traversed the whole city to Aldgate. The streets were renewed for the occasion with fresh gravel and sand, and the houses hung with rich cloths, silks and carpets. All the crafts of London stood in their companies to welcome the queen. The expenses of the royal household for the days of the visit are given as £107, 6s. 8d., £100, 19s., and £102, 9s. 1½d. respectively. It has been suggested that North found that the above figures by no means covered his own disbursements. Elizabeth liked to be entertained well, and was never adverse to saving her pocket by honouring a noble with her presence. Whether North found the financial strain too great, or whether solely on account of advancing age, he certainly retired soon after this to his country estate at Kirtley. He died in December, 1564, and in the following May his son, Roger, second Lord North, and the executors sold the Charterhouse to the fourth Duke of Norfolk for £2500. It is to the first Lord North, and to this Duke of Norfolk that the present condition of the Charterhouse is chiefly due. It is they who

THOMAS HOWARD, FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK.

From the portrait by Antonio Moro.

adapted the old monastic buildings to the secular dwelling.

A younger son of the first Lord North was Sir Thomas North, the famous translator of Plutarch. He must have been an inhabitant of the Charterhouse in his young days. The Norths still retained, for their town mansion, a house in Charterhouse Square, adjoining the main building to the east. It was to this house that the second Lord North returned from an expedition in 1600 to Bath in search of health, and it was here that on the 3rd of December he "passed quietly to his heavenly country." This house was sold to the Rutland family, and the site is commemorated by Rutland Place at the north-east corner of Charterhouse Square.

Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was the richest man in England, and the Charterhouse as his London palace now reached its apogee of magnificence; He renamed it Howard House, and much of the present ornament of the house is due to his interest in the place. He was still adorning it when he came to his untimely end, for in the account of his debts drawn up then appears £200 due to the workmen there. But Norfolk was to occupy himself with more serious business than building operations when he lived in the Charterhouse, and the place was to be intimately connected with those matters that finally brought his head to the block.

Norfolk was a man of many matrimonial experiences, and it was his choice of Mary Queen of Scots to make his fourth wife that brought about his fall. He was of the noblest blood, alone in the highest rank of the peerage, and the richest man in England, and his unstable mind saw in a union with Mary the opportunity to take that high position in life to which he thought he might aspire, and he pursued his scheme, regardless of Elizabeth's hint, that he "take heed on what pillow he laid his head." It was his belief that, once united, their combined power would force

Elizabeth to acknowledge Mary's right to the Scotch throne, and the reversion to the English one. He does not appear, at first anyhow, to have had any idea of disloyalty to Elizabeth, and was startled when he was arrested in the autumn of 1568. Nothing definite was found against him, but suspicion kept him in the Tower till the 3rd of August, 1570. The queen always disliked proceeding to extremities with her nobles, and perhaps welcomed the excuse of an outbreak of plague in the Tower to grant Norfolk's request to be allowed to return to the Charterhouse. Once back there, he wrote to Cecil, saying that it is no small comfort to him to be rid out of "yonder pestylent infectious hows." He was still to be kept a close prisoner in Howard House, but he assured Cecil that his health required no more liberty than he could now enjoy. No doubt the pleasures of his own fireside seemed to him a paradise after the Tower, but even this spacious residence became irksome to him very soon. He also wrote to the queen, thanking her too, and assuring her of his loyalty, but his protestations were to prove of little stability. If he had been a wiser man his imprisonment would have taught him that the course he had entered on, though it may have seemed an innocent ambition for one already so great and so popular, was incompatible with the safety of the monarch for whom he had affirmed his loyalty. Weakness of purpose may have been his chief fault, and stronger minds soon led him into paths which made the Charterhouse and Fotheringhay, where Mary was imprisoned, the two centres of treason against Elizabeth. Messages began to pass between the queen and the duke. Mary sent south an agate ring, by the hands of Brian Lascelles, who questioned Sir Nicholas Strange as to the possibility of its being conveyed to Norfolk. Strange said that it would be quite easy, as the nobleman's friends were permitted free access to Howard House. So there the ring went. Ques-

tioned as to it during his trial, the duke said that when he saw the memento he remarked, "I know the ring well," and added that he made no more reply to its silent message than to thank the messenger "and say to him that I have nothing to do there, and, so bid him farewell." But the duke's statements at his trial were often unworthy prevarications, and probably Lascelles was nearer the truth when he affirmed that the message was that the queen would shortly hear from her ducal wooer. Another token of this strange courting, from prison to prison, that is said to have reached Howard House was a gift from Mary of a brooch, on which was engraved a hand cutting down a vine, with the motto, "Virescit vulnere virtus." The meaning to be conveyed thereby was that the intentions of Norfolk were not to be abandoned because they had been for the time cut down by his imprisonment. They would spring only the stronger from the pruning.

Sir Nicholas Strange was the chief intermediary between the outside world and Howard House. We hear of him again in an account given by James Douglas of a conversation which he had with "Archy Inglys, a Scottis mane borne." This Inglis knew John Sinclair, also a "Scottis mane borne," who was in great credit with the Duke of Norfolk, and had the keeping of the Charterhouse. Sinclair was deep in the duke's plotting, and he heard of everything that was said at Court about the duke, the same night, before he went to bed, Sir Nicholas Strange acting as his informant, and Sinclair told Inglis the whole scheme for the release of the Scottish queen and her marriage with Norfolk.

It is clear that the prisoner of the Charterhouse was being drawn into dangerous waters, though whether he was the pilot of his own course is uncertain. Stronger and more subtle minds were around him. There came to visit him in March, 1571, a man, Robert Ridolfi, who ostensibly came to England as a foreign merchant, but

who was really the agent of the Catholic party of Europe, and as such had come to England to spy out the possibilities for a Spanish invasion. Ridolfi came to Howard House under cover of darkness, and he was closeted with the duke for an hour; and most probably he repeated the visit. The papal agent laid before the duke the proposals for an invasion by Alva, and talked over with him the prospects of the aid the latter might expect from this country. Norfolk was not a bold or a determined man, and he attempted to avoid giving any promise in writing, but there still exists in the Spanish archives the document which was finally drawn up by Ridolfi, in some room of the Charterhouse, and to which the duke gave his adhesion. Ridolfi is to explain to the Pope and Philip that matters are going from bad to worse; the only hope is the establishment of the Queen of Scots' "just title." Ridolfi is to "kiss the feet of his Holiness in my name and that of the nobles, and you will say that, if God gives me grace to conduct this enterprise to a happy end, I will then be content to do anything which his Holiness, the King of Spain, and the Queen of Scots, wish." It is not an edifying comparison to place these words between the assurance of loyalty and affection which Norfolk had a short time before sent to Elizabeth on his release from the pestiferous Tower, and his later outburst, at his trial, that he would rather be torn by wild horses than forsake his Protestant religion. Norfolk also detailed to Ridolfi the forces he himself could expect to bring to help Alva, and also the soldiers it would be necessary for the latter to bring with him. Harwich is suggested as the port at which they should land. Norfolk afterwards denied giving any such an undertaking, but there seems no doubt as to the authenticity of the document that has been quoted, and if so it was rank treason which the two hatched at their meeting in the Charterhouse. Further messages also came from the continental powers to the duke.

SCREEN IN DINING HALL.

This plotting was revealed, not by the efficient spy system of the government, but by that chance which waits on all such schemes. Norfolk wished to send a supply of money to Scotland, to aid the cause there, and it was entrusted by his secretary to a merchant returning to Shrewsbury, there to be given to a safe agent. The merchant, not in the secret, was told the bag contained silver, and he had nearly finished his journey before he realised that the weight of the bag pointed to its being gold, and a most unusual sum. He opened the bag, found £500 in gold, and a still more suspicious circumstance, a letter in cipher. He promptly returned to London to hand letter and money to the government. Norfolk's secretary was arrested and told to read the letter. This he said he could not do without the key, which was under a mat, by the duke's bedroom, in Howard House. The place was searched, and no key found, but a further letter in cipher, which the secretary managed to read from memory. It proved that the duke was carrying on a questionable correspondence, and it was determined to interrogate him, saying that a bag of his money had miscarried, and ask him for an explanation. Enough was known to prove that his answer was a lie. He was promptly put under stricter supervision, and so urgent was the matter considered to be that, though it was then late at night, messages were sent to Sir Ralph Sadler to proceed to take charge of the duke's person, and the Charterhouse. Sadler was the old secretary of Thomas Cromwell, and a trusted man. Roused out of his bed at one o'clock in the morning he went straight off to his duty. Next morning he writes to Burghley that Norfolk is kept to his chamber, and all servants sent away, save two to attend on him and four or five necessary officers to provide and cook his meat. Evidence against the prisoner was being collected, and Cecil sent on to Sadler the account of what he knew, telling him to question the

duke again and urge him to tell the truth. Sadler was an old hand at the ways of the world of politics and diplomacy, and his report was that " the Duke absolutely and expressly denieth all with such constant asseveration and earnest protestations, as if it be true that Higford has confessed, which indeed hath such appearance of truth as for my part I believe it to be true as yet, then is the Duke a devil and no Christian man." The plot had brought a man of noble blood to a pitiable pass, and when the warrant for his commital to the Tower came, Norfolk's courage forsook him. He fell on his knees and cried for mercy. He was to make a more fitting appearance at his trial, and still more so when he was brought to Tower Hill to die, but his whole story is a mass of inconsistency and lack of truth. The evidence of the depth of his treason is plainer to-day than it was to his contemporaries. After he had been in prison some months he wrote to Elizabeth a letter which is subscribed as " Written by the woeful hand of a dead man, your Majesty's most unworthy subject, and yet your Majesty's, in my humble prayer, until the last breath." So Norfolk left once more, and finally, the Charterhouse that he had embellished, and apparently loved.

The Spanish Ambassador, a somewhat prejudiced observer, reported that when the duke was taken to the Tower, though the hour was unexpected, yet a large concourse of people gathered together, and the excitement was so great that a " very little more and he would have been liberated."

From his prison he contrived to make his position more dangerous by writing a letter, with red ochre, in which he begged one of his servants to seek out a certain bag of writings, and burn them. The letter was intercepted and the papers found " under boards fast nailed." The whole Charterhouse, indeed, was a magazine of treasonable correspondence. The key to the cipher was found under the tiles of the roof.

When confronted with these documents at his trial, the duke's reply was a curious one. " This letter was deciphered. I misliked the Device, and bad that the letter should be burned." As to the visit of Ridolfi, Norfolk was forced to admit this, but he claimed that he had come on business affairs, after negotiating which, the Italian had proceeded to the other matter. The duke said further that : " He prayed also my letters in the Scottish queen's favour to the duke of Alva. I began to mislike him, and was loath to write. I sought ways to shift me from him ; I said I was not well at ease ; I could not write, and it was late, and so I would not deal." Or again, said the duke, " To please the curious Italian head of Rodolp, they devised it among them to deal with the Spanish Ambassador."

Barker, the duke's servant, who had confessed, perhaps under torture, said that Ridolfi had come a second time, and he detailed the route by which he had secretly brought the Italian through the courtyards and corridors of the Charterhouse ; but Norfolk denied this further visit. As to the details given by Barker, the duke replied, " There be ways enough, he might have devised also a dozen ways more, if he would, in that house."

Norfolk most vigorously denied that he was not of the English Church. " They sought to have it thought I was a Catholic to serve their purpose, and did put it in of themselves, but I allowed it not, I would rather be torn with wild horses than forsake my religion." It is true that when he had to die the duke sent for his old tutor, John Fox, the martyrologist. However, the impression obtained from the words and deeds of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, is of a man unstable, ambitious, and with great powers of dissimulation. One remembers the comment of the experienced Ralph Sadler.

The duke was found guilty on the charge of having at " the Charterhouse aforesaid, in the county of Middlesex

aforesaid, falsely, subtly, and traitorously writ divers letters to the aforesaid Mary, late Queen of Scots" as well as of many other deeds also committed in the "Charterhouse aforesaid." Elizabeth hesitated long, but Norfolk was at length executed.

Norfolk's property had been forfeited by his treason, but Elizabeth did not visit the sins of the father on the son. She granted the Charterhouse to the eldest son, Philip Howard. The dukedom lapsed, but the young man inherited, on his mother's side, the title of Earl of Arundel. The earl took unto himself a countess, and this lady probably was the encourager of Catholic sympathies in the husband. Elizabeth had reason to suspect what was taking place and paid a cautionary visit to the Charterhouse, which, however, was of no effect, as shortly afterwards she was forced to send the Countess away into domestic captivity in Sussex. She had been charged with sheltering Jesuit priests, and very probably she had used the convenient hiding-place of the Charterhouse. Later the queen sent a message to the earl that he must consider himself a prisoner in his own house. Lady Arundel was put at liberty in September, 1584, and she returned to Howard House, and wrote thence to Secretary Walsingham, thanking him for having procured her release. But the earl, with a noble disregard of his own safety, celebrated her return by being formally admitted into the Catholic Church. When this became known he was committed to the Tower, where he remained for the rest of his life, stedfastly refusing to change. He was a more consistent advocate of his faith than his father had been of his.

It would seem that Elizabeth at one time, probably immediately after Norfolk's last arrest, allowed the Portuguese ambassador to live in the Charterhouse, and there was trouble with English subjects resorting to the Catholic service there. About this time, one David Jones,

LORD THOMAS HOWARD, AFTERWARDS EARL OF SUFFOLK.
From the portrait by Zuccaro.

whose occupation was that of informer to the Government, writes to say that many people resort to the Charterhouse for a Catholic service. Trade is bad with him, so he pleads that he may go there to do some work, as at present he is in danger of starving.

The Charterhouse was now regranted to a third Howard, that is, to the second son of the unfortunate duke. This man, Thomas Howard, like his father in name, used his life in a very different manner. Instead of offering his faith to the Spaniard he fought against him on the sea, beside Raleigh and Drake. His record as a sailor is a brilliant one, even for those days. He was in command of the expedition on which Sir Richard Grenville, on his ship the "Revenge," fought his last fight. In 1597 he became a peer, as Baron Howard de Walden.

Elizabeth had gone to the Charterhouse before entering London for the first time as queen, and, at the end of her life, one of the last things she did before leaving for Richmond, there to stay till she died, was to visit Lord Thomas Howard at the same house. On the 21st of January, 1603, she went there to be feasted by the owner. When James came to the throne he quickly sought out Lord Howard with fresh honours. The family of Howard had distinguished itself in the cause of his mother, Mary, and James remembered this when he showed Lord Thomas attentions. The convenience of the Charterhouse, being just outside the walls of London, also led him to imitate Elizabeth in making a stay there before he entered the city. The story of the last reign is repeated. Again the city fathers ride out in their robes to Highgate, accompanied by five hundred "grave city citizens in velvet coats and chains of gold." No doubt Thomas Sutton, the future refounder of Charterhouse, was among them. Often in the old days a line of robed monks must have taken this road back from their "*spatiamentum*" on the Highgate hills. Perhaps some oldster in the crowd, John

Stow possibly, thought how the world had changed when King James, in 1603, set out towards the Charterhouse, preceded by all the splendour of pageantry, "multitudes of people swarming in the fields, houses, trees and highways, to beholde the king; the king as much admired at the infinite numbers of people that continually mette him in his journey, albeit the former numbers were in no way comparable with those he mette neare London: about five of the clocke he came into the Charterhouse, where for foure dayes space, the Lord Thomas Howard gave his majestie and all his trayne most royall entertainment, the king at his departure made four-score knights." The crowds had come to James as a climax to his journey through a country, at the richness of which he was not the first, or last, Scotsman to wonder. We may imagine his arrival at the gates of the Charterhouse, James possibly vocal in broad Scots tongue as to the amazing numbers which the chief city of his new realm could pour forth, perhaps gazing in some awe towards the walls and the crowded towers of London. From the Charterhouse James issued a declaration that he would not call more than twenty-four to his Privy Council, and that he would reduce this number by degrees. He consoled himself for his self-denial in thus restricting his kingly prerogatives by a liberal dispensation of knighthoods.

Howard had gone to meet the king at Theobalds, and James had already made him a privy-councillor, and Lord-Chamberlain of the household. He was now also created Earl of Suffolk, and later on he was put in charge of the Treasury. The Spanish party was still active, and they offered Suffolk a pension of a thousand pounds a year if he would assist their cause. But the old sea-fighter would not now change sides to work with those against whom he had fought. His wife, however, accepted the money and supplied valuable secrets. This lady, the mistress of the Charterhouse, was of great beauty and

capability, and was popularly credited with being Suffolk's better half. When the earl fell into suspicion as to his administration of the treasury, it was thought that his lady had most to do with the matter. She undoubtedly used his high office to put money in her own pocket. It was this Earl of Suffolk who sold the Charterhouse to Thomas Sutton.

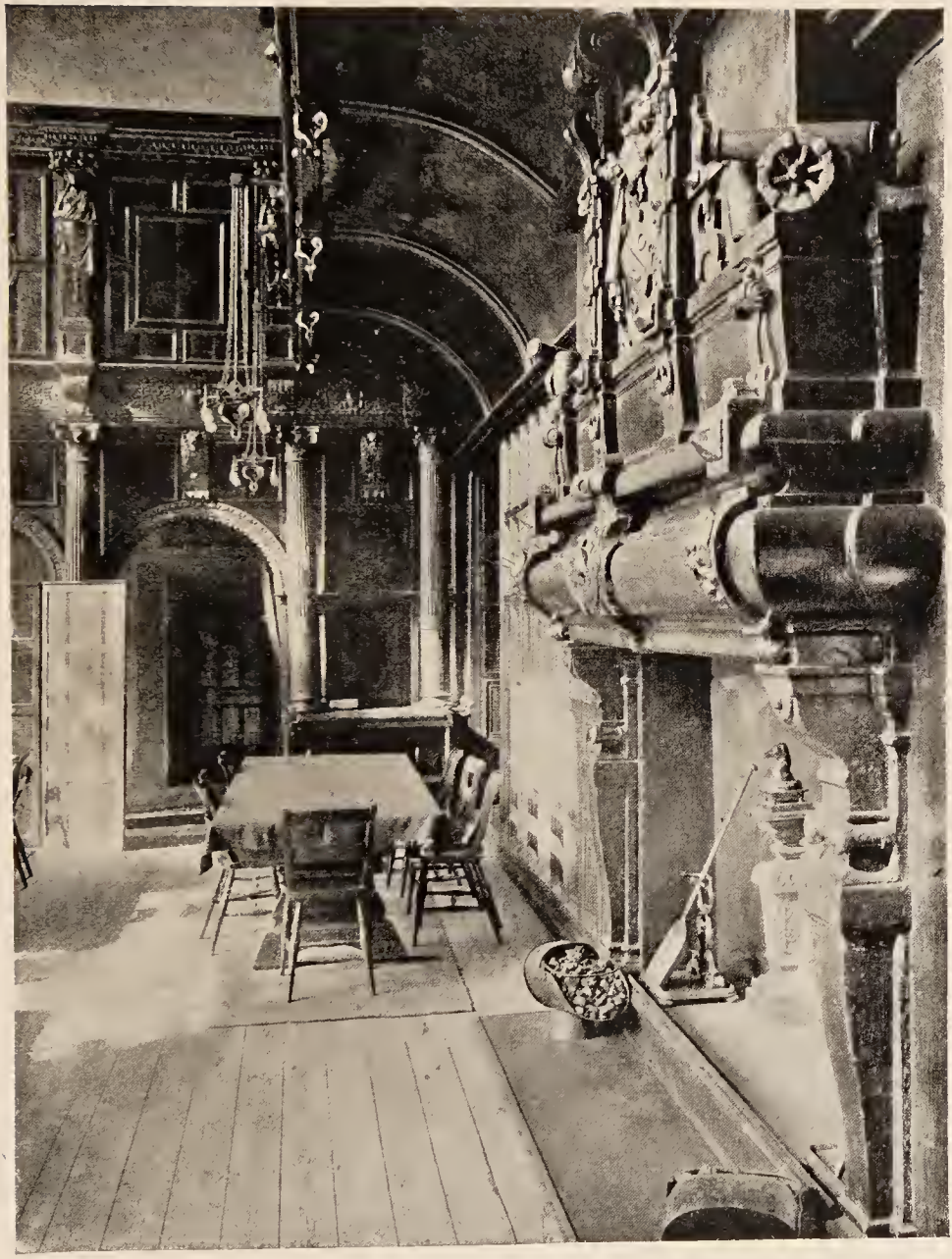
CHAPTER XIV

THOMAS SUTTON—HIS EARLY LIFE

As an introduction to Thomas Sutton, the refounder of Charterhouse, we may quote what Thomas Fuller wrote of him as one of the "Worthies" of Lincolnshire. Fuller says he "was born at Knaith, in this county, bred a Souldier in his youth, and was somwhat of Paymaster by his place; much mony therefore passing through, some did lawfully stick on his fingers, which became the bottom of his future estate. He was afterwards a Merchant in London, and gained great wealth therein. Such who charge him with purblindness in his soul, looking too close on the earth, do themselves acquit him from oppression; that, though '*tenax*,' he was not '*rapax*'; not guilty of covetousness, but parcimony.

"Indeed, there was a Merchant, his Comrade, whose name I will conceal (except the great estate he left doth discover it) with whom he had company in common; but their charges were severall to themselves. When his friend in travell called for two Faggots, Mr Sutton called for one; when his friend for half a pint of wine, Mr Sutton for a gill, underspending him a moity. At last, Mr Sutton hearing of his friends death, and that he left but fifty thousand pounds estate; 'I thought,' said he, 'he would dye no rich man, who made such needless expences.'

"Indeed, Mr Sutton's estate doubled his; and he bestowed it all on Charterhouse, or Sutton's Hospitall. This is the Masterpiece of Protestant English Charity; designed in his life; compleated after his death; begun, continued,



THE DINING-HALL.

and finished, with Buildings and Endowments, '*sine causa socia*,' soly at his charges; wherein Mr Sutton appears peerless in all Christendom, on a equall standart and valuation of revenue."

These, then, were the main divisions of Sutton's life: an adventurous youth with foreign wanderings, an early manhood in the military service of his country, and a later life, prolonged beyond the usual period of man's existence, as a wealthy merchant. He was thus, by this intermixture of aims, as typical of his time, as the first founder of Charterhouse, Sir Walter de Manny, was of his. Instead of the gallant and knightly warrior, doing deeds of chivalry, we have now a man more concerned with trade and merchandise, though not without the warlike spirit. The Englishman of the early years of Elizabeth's reign had often to fight for his country as well as earn his bread. Sometimes, like the patriot pirates of the illegitimate navy of Drake and his fellows, they managed to combine the two aims. Sutton left soldiering when his judgment saw the avenue of riches open before him, and this change of occupation coincides very fairly with that turning point of the queen's reign when, from an almost precarious foothold on free existence, England entered on the period of safety, expansion, and accumulation of wealth.

Thomas Sutton was born in 1532, at Knaith, a little village on the river Trent, some twelve miles from Lincoln, in which city his father, Richard Sutton, was steward of the courts. Probably the elder Sutton had a stirring time three years later, when Lincoln became the centre of the rising which heralded the much more formidable outbreak of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Thomas' mother came of the family of the Stapletons of Yorkshire. By a strange coincidence therefore, the future refounder of Charterhouse was descended, on his mother's side, from a fellow warrior of the fourteenth century founder. There were, indeed, two members of the

Stapleton family notable in the annals of that time, and it is difficult to disentangle the lives of the two, as the Christian name of both was Miles, and they were both Knights of the Order of the Garter. One is reported to have been in the Breton expedition of 1342 and the siege of Calais. He would thus have been under the leadership of Sir Walter de Manny.

Sutton was born six years before the Charterhouse ceased to be a monastery, and his lifetime therefore covers the whole period of its alienation in private hands. Also his existence covers as exactly that tragic epoch when "religion," in England, most fiercely burnt and hung, according as the balance of power swung to one side or the other, those who differed from the particular dogma in the ascendancy. In the year that Sutton was born the "Submission of the Clergy" significantly marked the beginning of the period of stress. In the year of his death the last pile of faggots for the extirpation of "heresy" was built at Smithfield. The victim in this case was of that type of heretic that all dominant parties of the Christian Church had united in persecuting. A month later that page of English history was closed by the burning of Edward Wightman at Coventry. This man would seem, by all the laws of dogma, to have richly deserved his fate. Says Fuller: "Ten several heresies were laid to Wightman's charge, *viz.*, those of Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichæus,[1] Plotinus, and of the Anabaptists." The last of these alone would have sufficed with any sufficiently orthodox judge. But Sutton was to see the end of this form of persecution for "religion," for from this time "King James politicly preferred that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison rather than to grace them and amuse others with

[1] A slip of Fuller's. Manes and Manichæus were one and the same man.

THE GRAND STAIRCASE.

the solemnity of a public execution, which in popular judgments usurped the horror of a persecution."

But we were seventy-nine years away from this when Sutton was born in the stirring days of bluff King Hal. Little that is certain is known of the boy's early years. It is said that Dr Cox was a friend of Richard Sutton, and that it was to his advice the course of Thomas' schooling was due. If so, it was probably such as to cause his grateful acknowledgment in later life, as Sutton in his will left legacies to Dr Cox's children. The doctor is believed to have advised that the boy should go to Eton, where he himself was master, and the gifts to the doctor's children are some evidence that Sutton both went there and approved of the choice.

Dr Cox was a man whose opinion on the education of youth was considered to be of value. He was, at about this same time as he was advising for Thomas Sutton, selected as the preceptor of the young prince, the future Edward the Sixth. There is a letter from the worthy doctor which gives an idea of the zest with which he entered on the work of imparting knowledge. It is a report as to the prince's progress. The present writer confesses that he is obliged to think of Dr Blimber in *Dombey and Son* as he reads it.

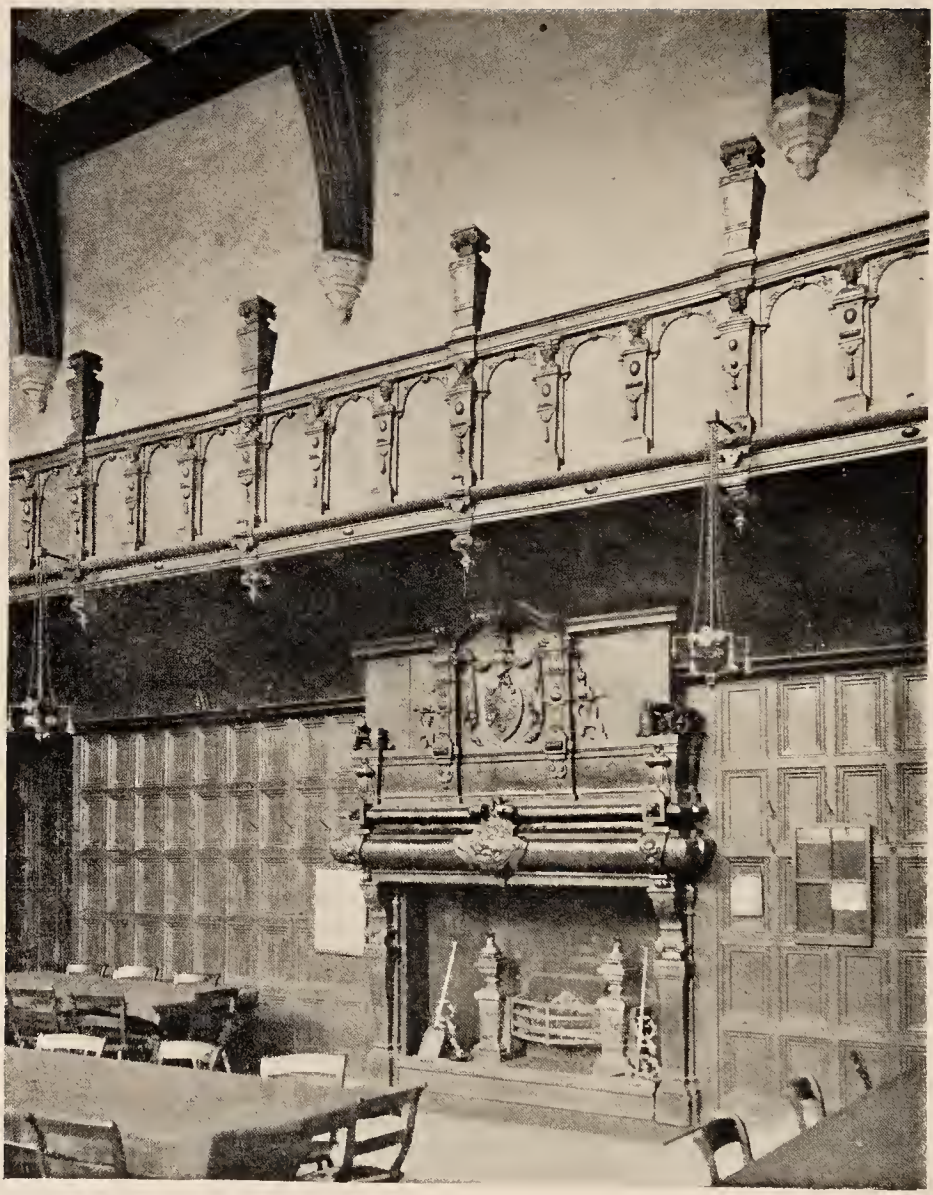
"We can now read, and God be thanked sufficiently. . . . He hath expugned and utterly conquered a great number of the captains of ignorance. The eight parts of speech he hath made them his subjects and servants, and can decline any manner Latin noun, and conjugate a verb perfectly, unless it be *anomalum*. . . . He understandeth and can frame well his three concords of grammar, and hath made already forty or fifty pretty Latin verses, and can answer well favouredly to the parts, and is ready to enter into Cato, to some proper and profitable fables of Æsop, and other wholesome and godly lessons that shall be devised for him. Every day in the mass time he

readeth a portion of Solomon's Proverbs for the exercise of his reading, wherein he delighteth much ; and learneth there how good it is to give ear unto discipline, to fear God, to keep God's commandments, to beware of strange and wanton women."

Poor little prince, he was then only about eight years old ! But all did not go smoothly in the lessons, and the boy was showing the Tudor blood, for the doctor has to report that "'Captain Will' was an ungracious fellow, whom to conquer I was almost in despair. . . . upon a day I took my morice pike, and at 'Will' I went, and gave him such a wound that he wist not what to do, but pricked him privately out of the place that I never saw him since. . . . Howbeit, there is another cumbrous captain that appeareth out of his pavilion, called 'Oblivion,' who by labour and continuance of exercise shall be easily chased away." But he can report of the Prince that " he is a vessel most apt to receive all goodness and learning, witty, sharp, and pleasant."

This letter will give an insight into the character of Doctor Cox, to whom was due the course of Sutton's education, and whose memory the latter seems to have valued throughout his life. Perhaps a firm but not unkindly man, with a decided trend to the system of the scholastic " forcing house," as practised throughout the ages by the immortal race of Doctor Blimber.

There is uncertainty as to whether or where Thomas Sutton went to a university. It has been claimed that he was the student of that name who was entered in 1551 at St John's College, Cambridge, but investigation seems to prove definitely that this was another Sutton. In any case it would be strange if this were he, that the legacies he left in his will to colleges at that university should not have gone to St John's instead of to Peterhouse, Jesus, and Magdalene Colleges. However this may be, he is known to have entered Lincoln's Inn as a young man,



The Fire-Place and Gallery in the Dining-Hall.

thus following his father's profession of the law. But apparently he soon left England and wandered widely over the Continent. Samuel Herne in his *Domus Carthusiana* says of these travels: "Half a year he tarries in Spain, two in Italy, one in France, and then he passes into Holland, and the Low Countries; from whence after a year or two spent in the Italian Wars (for he was at the Sacking of Rome, under the Duke of Bourbon) he returned accomplish't with experience and observation." Herne, however, by his parenthesis, greatly damages the value of his information as he here makes a bad blunder. The sacking of Rome took place in the year 1527, so Sutton could not possibly have taken part in it. Some travel no doubt there was. It has been suggested that Sutton may have found it advisable to quit England on account of his religious opinions, but if Herne is correct, he first visited Spain whilst Mary was on the throne. Richard Sutton died soon after the 27th of July, 1558, and it is not until February 1562 that the son proved the will. So either Sutton had not returned till nearly four years after the accession of Elizabeth had made the land safe for protestants, or else he is that Captain Sutton recorded as being in the garrison of Berwick-on-Tweed from December 1558 to November 1559, and his military duties prevented him taking the lengthy journey south. When he had entered into possession of his father's bequest he was drawing a good income from the lease of Cockerington, which was held from the Bishop of Lincoln. He was now thirty, with, it may be supposed, a knowledge of languages, and certainly an ability, to help him in his career. He may have been connected with that Sutton family to which belonged the Lords Ambrose and Robert Dudley, afterwards earls of Warwick and Leicester respectively. Herne says he was admitted to the service of both these noblemen ("To the former he was a Steward, to the latter a Secretary"),

and proved his worth to both. The Robert Dudley to whom Sutton was thus said to have been secretary was Elizabeth's favourite and the husband of the unfortunate Amy Robsart.

There is more direct evidence as to the connection of Sutton with the other nobleman, as in 1569, the Earl of Warwick, together with his wife, the Lady Anne, granted an annuity of £3, 1s. 8d. from the manor of Walkington, in Yorkshire " in consideration of the trewe and faitheful service to us done by our well-beloved servant, Thomas Sutton." Later on they increased the gift by giving him a lease of the whole manor.

The Earl of Warwick was at this time Master-General of the Ordnance, and it was probably by his favour that Sutton was appointed, in 1569, to the important position of Master of the Ordnance in the northern part of the realm, with headquarters at Berwick-on-Tweed. This post was no sinecure, as the northern counties were seething with Catholic disaffection and the Scotch were an ever present source of excitement. Sutton, though he afterwards settled down as a merchant, seems to have been proud of the warlike deeds of his manhood, for in the decorations that were added to the Charterhouse, when it was fitted out for his charity, there were introduced carvings of cannon in reminiscence of his Mastership of Ordnance.

About the time when Sutton was in charge at Berwick, William Camden was perambulating England, collecting material for his great descriptive work of *Britannia*. He says of Berwick that it is " the strongest hold in all Britaine." The town has been often strengthened, but especially by Elizabeth, " who of late to the terrour of the enimie, and safegard of her state, enclosed it about in a narrower compasse within the old wall, with a high wall of stone most strangly compacted together, which she hath so forwarded again, with a counterscarfe, a banke round

about, with mounts of earth cast up by man's hand, and open terraces above head, that either the forme of these munitions, or strength thereof, may justly cut off all hope of winning it. To say nothing all this while of the valour of the garison soldiers, the store of great Ordinance and furniture of warre which was wonderfull."

This was the fortress that Sutton knew, and to the efficient state of the defences of which his business ability must have contributed.

Soon after his appointment as Master of Ordnance Sutton was in the north engaged in the operations against the rebels there. There is a letter written by him on the 18th of December, 1569, to the Earl of Warwick, and dated from Durham. The enemy have fled the night before from this city to Hexham. Sutton is already familiar with the district, for he tells his master that he has provided lodging for him at Newcastle in the house where his father, the Duke of Northumberland, lay, "and where you need not climb any stairs, and be with a gentleman who will be proud of you." He has learnt that a brother of one of the Earl of Leicester's servants has been with the rebels, but surrendered himself eight days ago, and adds, "I have already broken for his pardon with my Lord Lieutenant, whom I found very gracious. Pray for his name and his friend's sake, speak for him, he is but a child and seems very sorry for his fact." The thoughtfulness of his provision for the Earl's comfort, and the sympathy shown for the rebel youth, speak well for the kindness of Sutton's heart and character.

Whilst on duty in the north Sutton's chief military exploit was in connection with the expedition that went to the help of the Regent of Scotland, the Earl of Morton, in 1573. He was in command of one of the batteries erected against Edinburgh Castle.

Whilst on this expedition Sutton contracted an irregular union, and an illegitimate child was born to him. This son

he afterwards acknowledged and brought up, but through some misconduct he forfeited his father's good favour.

As will be seen, Sutton, about 1580, went to settle in business in London, but he retained, in name at least, his Mastership in the north for fourteen years after this. It is difficult to see how he could have been actively engaged in the work, but he only resigned in May, 1594, when a successor was appointed, one Richard Musgrave. This man was to receive wages of five shillings a day, twelve pence for two servants, and like amounts for his clerk, and two labourers, and the duties of Sutton's successor are defined as being master of ordnance and keeper of storehouses, with control and payment of the gunners in Berwick.

If Sutton continued the military work in any way it is probable that he was intimately connected thereby with one of the most striking figures of the Elizabethan age. This was Sir Philip Sidney, paragon of all virtues and powers, whom the Earl of Warwick, about 1584, appointed to assist himself as Joint-Master of the Ordnance.

The removal of Sutton to London about 1580 was the turning point of his career, and here may be given the summary of his military and commercial careers as given by Samuel Herne, who wrote his *Domus Carthusiana* some fifty years after Sutton's death. This account is given with some reserve, as, though picturesque, it is hard to confirm, and indeed in some points can be proved inaccurate. Still as the first biography of Sutton written after his death it may be taken as, at least, the gathering up of the traditions concerning the man.

"Then he was chosen Pay-Master to the Northern army; and afterwards one of the commissioners for the Sequestration of the Lands of the Northern Rebels: in opposition to whom, he showed himself a wise man in disposing so advantageously of the Berwick forces: and a valiant Man in his Actions and Conducts.

"Some years after he became Victualler to the Navy, and some Garrisons in the Low-Countries; one of which was Ostend, which by the help of some Fishermen, he relieved very strangely, and to his own great Advantage: to which Town he left in his Will £100.

"Lastly, he was a Commissioner for Prizes, under the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, who gave him Letters of Mart against the Spaniard, from whom he took a ship richly laden, worth Twenty thousand pounds.

"Having by these profitable Imploys laid the foundation of a good Estate, upon some misunderstanding between him and the Northern Nobility, he retires to London, to enjoy and improve it; where his Riches increased, and, came upon him like a Tide, by the just Arts and Methods which he used.

"He brought with him to London the Reputation of a mighty monied Man, insomuch that it was reported, That his Purse returned from the North fuller than Queen Elizabeth's Exchequer: (here he was made a Freeman Citizen, and Girdler of London).

"His Payments were thought as sure as her Pensions; the readiness of his money, and the fairness of his dealing, laid the grounds of a mighty Reputation; for now he is look't upon by all men, he has the first refusal of the best Bargains, of Sales, and Mortgages, which were more frequent in a dead time of Money, as that was."

It was when Sutton was on duty in the north that his keen business intellect saw that opportunity of gaining riches of which he availed himself so successfully. "Sea coal" from Newcastle was just coming into popularity, and the possibilities of the coal field round that town were apparent to him. He obtained leases of the manors of Gateshead and Wickham, both rich in coal, and he must have mined and shipped it to London. It was from this trade that he obtained the money which so successfully,

as Fuller says, "stuck to his fingers." He was the first, but by no means the last, whom "black diamonds" have enriched. Also like many others since, having made his pile, he moved to London, the best quarter wherein to increase it. When he came south, he is said to have brought with him two waggon loads of money, and to have been worth £50,000. Whatever the exact amount may have been, Sutton was an unusually wealthy man, and the remarkable speed, for those times, with which he had accumulated it evidently struck the popular imagination.

Charles Knight, drawing a comparison between the careers of the old and new founders of Charterhouse, has said: "One cannot avoid being forcibly struck by the contrast between the chivalry of War and Bloodshed, and that of Peace and Benevolence. A truly noble-hearted and high-principled man was Sir Walter Manny, yet all his admirable qualities, and those of men like him, served but to shed a deceitful glare over the ruined towns and villages that tracked their path, or at best to alleviate the woes they themselves made. How different the chivalry of Thomas Sutton! Even whilst with steady, far-sighted economy he went on heaping up the riches that were to gladden the hearts of hundreds through generation after generation. . . . Instead of blood or tears, the sighs of breaking hearts, or the curses of despairing ones, he left behind him the natural blessings that follow in the train of united wealth, industry and honour."

So wrote Mr Charles Knight in the early days of Victoria. At the same time the Earl of Shaftesbury was working at his bitterly hard task of proving to an unsympathetic England that that very trade of mining coal might be, as well as the chivalry of the fourteenth century, also productive of "sighs of breaking hearts." It is not suggested for one moment that Sutton worked women and children to the death to get his coal, that procedure was left to a more "civilised" age. But one must not be,

like Mr Knight, carried away by the apparent contrasts of the spheres of action of the two founders. Both played a sufficiently honourable and humane part in the life of their time. There is, indeed, this similarity in the two foundations, Manny provided masses for the souls of those who succumbed to his arms, and Sutton provides an almshouse available for those who have gone under on the battle-field whereon he had been victorious.

Sutton once settled in London, wealth continued to come in on him, as Herne says, " with every tide." As the same writer says, with more of revolutionary political economy than he was probably aware of, " for when an Industrious man has once raised his fortunes to a considerable pitch, he then grows apace, by sharing in the constant labours of many of the undersort of men."

The old medieval hatred of the lending of money for interest, as being accursed usury, was breaking down. Though even as late as during the early years of Sutton's life the taking of any interest on lent money was denounced afresh by act of parliament, the re-enactment was still-born. The new world of commercial expansion in which the use and power of capital was to be the vital force was beginning. Such chests as those left by Bishop Michael de Northburgh in 1361, to supply loans to the needy, no longer sufficed for the eager mercantile ambition of the people. We are nearing the entrance of the bank into national life. In 1609 the Bank of Amsterdam was founded, and it is said that Sutton contemplated founding a similar one in London. But he was not to rob the Scotch nation of this characteristic honour; William Paterson did not found the Bank of England till 1694. However, Sutton earned the title of the " Banker of London," and in this new world of business he took an active part. Very possibly he even deserved a better compliment than that of liking the certainty of his payments to the security of

the Queen's pensions. Elizabeth's parsimony in the matter of wages is notorious.

His knowledge of foreign nations and languages must have stood him in good stead when he entered into over-sea commerce. Herne tells us that, "he was a sharer in several publick Farms, a Partner in Forreign Adventures especially in Muscovy and Hamburgh, insomuch that he had no less than Thirty Agents abroad."

In connection with these continental money transactions there is a tradition with good Suttonians, though the more stolid historians seem to pass over the incident in silence, that the merchant was once enabled thereby to do a great service to his country. It was at the time when the fear of a mighty Spanish invasion was hanging over the island. Sir Francis Walsingham, through his efficient espionage system, became aware that a letter had gone to the Pope from Philip of Spain with details of an expedition on which the latter asked the benediction of His Holiness. Walsingham stuck at no means which would help his country (one secretary of his first recommended himself by his excellent skill in opening the seals of ambassadors' letters, without the fact being detectable); the letter was stolen from the Vatican, and disclosed that the Armada was being prepared to sail against England, and that large sums of money were to be drawn from the Bank of Genoa to fit it out. Promptly, through a London financier, all drafts on this bank which could be procured were bought up, and its coffers drained of cash. When the Spanish bills arrived there was no money to meet them, they were returned to Philip, and the sailing of the Armada thus delayed for nearly a year. According to the tradition it was Sir Thomas Gresham who acted as the financial helper of the government in this, but as he had been dead for some years it is permissible to believe that Thomas Sutton was the merchant who supplied the money and the

PREACHERS' COURT.

foreign connections to carry the scheme through. Thus at least it is polite to believe in this book.

When the Armada did approach Sutton contributed £100 to the defence of his country. Some writers go further and connect him with the "Sutton," a barque which appears in the roll of the English fleet, and state that he fitted it out at his sole charge and even commanded it in person, and, combining business with patriotism, under letters of marque, captured with it a Spanish prize worth twenty thousand pounds. This may be so, but all definite evidence points away from any connection with the vessel. It was entered at the port of Weymouth, with which place Sutton is not known to have had any associations, and its crew of thirty men was commanded by Hugh Preston.

But whether or not Sutton took on the high seas a prize of £20,000, he had certainly captured in a different field, and by more peaceful arts, a prize of, at the worst, similar monetary value, by taking to wife on September 17th, 1582, Elizabeth Dudley, relict of John Dudley, Esq., of Stoke Newington. Her fortune was, as has been adumbrated, one of twenty thousand pounds, and Sutton gained besides a wife of excellent and congenial qualities. It is certain that she encouraged him, if indeed she did not first turn his mind towards those charitable uses to which in his later life he began to put his money. Mrs Sutton's maiden name had been Gardiner, and her native country was the Buckinghamshire village of Chalfont St Giles, a district which had been for long noted for its leaning to extreme Protestant thought, and which was soon to become a centre of the Quaker belief. She had borne one child to her first husband, and this daughter, Anne, married, in 1590, Francis Popham, son and heir of Lord Chief Justice Popham. Elizabeth had both known and visited the Dudleys, and on one visit the queen had taken from her hair a jewel of great value, and given it to Anne Dudley. In an early will which Thomas Sutton made in

December 1597, he bequeathed, "as a Proof of his true and faithful heart borne to his dread Sovereign Queen Elizabeth," the sum of two thousand pounds to the queen, "in recompence of his oversights, careless dealing and forgetfulness in Her Service, most humbly beseeching her to stand a Good and Gracious Lady to his poor wife." Sutton here would seem to make a dangerous admission as to the quality of his service, but he is no doubt using polite phraseology, and he knew well how to expiate his self-confessed faults. The thrifty queen was never adverse to a gift of good cash. Once on one of her progresses she listened very composedly to a long Latin oration from the Mayor of Norwich, but gave much more attention to the final sentence in which he begged her acceptance of a cup full of gold pieces. Elizabeth eagerly looked inside, and with a smile of delight handed the cup to an attendant with the words, "Look to it, there is a hundred pounds."

Sutton at the time of his marriage is described as "of Littlebury, Essex, Esq.," but though Littlebury still continued to be an occasional residence, the Suttons mainly lived on the wife's property at Stoke Newington. They also had estates and lived at one time or another at Balsham in Cambridgeshire, and at Ashdon in Essex. Sutton leased as a town mansion a famous old house by the side of the Thames at Broken Wharf. John Stow, writing about this time, tells us that it was "so-called of being broken and fallen downe into the Thames. By this broken Wharff remayneth one large olde building of stone, with Arched Gates." This house it was that Sutton leased, and it was called Bygot House from its having been lived in by Hugh de Bygot in the thirteenth century. It must have been a princely mansion, certainly in a former time, for Stow writes that in 1336 it belonged to Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England. This is one more curious link between the founders of the old and new Charterhouse, for the daughter and heir of

Thomas of Brotherton became the wife of Sir Walter de Manny. Also a grandson from a previous marriage of this lady became the first Duke of Norfolk, and so founded the ducal family that afterwards possessed the Charterhouse as their palace. Sutton's lease of Bygot House should have run till 1599, but he must have abandoned it before its completion, as Stow continues : " Within the gate of this house (now belonging to the city of London) is lately, to wit, in the yeare 1594, and 1595, builded one large house of great height, called an engine, made by Bevis Bulmar Gentleman, for the conveying and forcing of Thames water to serve in the middle and West parts of the city. The ancient great hall of this messuage is yet standing, and pertaining to a great Brew-house for Beer."

It is said that Sutton retired from active business about the year 1590, and commenced a pursuit something " between a money-lender and a farmer." Of the first side of this dual occupation there remains ample evidence in the records of loan transactions still in the possession of the Charterhouse. The repulse of the Spanish Armada in 1588 may be taken as the turning point in Elizabeth's reign. England had now triumphantly vindicated her power, and a period of unexampled expansion and activity in all directions followed. Sutton with his wealth was one of the powers on the financial side of this, but the years of his quiet married life cover the period of England's literary glory. Six years later than Sutton's removal to London came another man to the city, William Shakespeare, and till 1611, when one died and the other finally settled at Stratford, their activities were held mainly within the bounds of the same city. A host of other writers were also at work, and the product of these few years would outweigh that of any other similar period. It was indeed a brilliant younger generation that was working around Thomas Sutton. His active career was now over, and it remained to administer his wealth.

CHAPTER XV

THOMAS SUTTON AND HIS WEALTH

As was perhaps natural in the case of a man so wealthy, and one who was certainly no spendthrift, there seems to have been a certain amount of slander against Sutton as being, as the phrase goes, too " close " with his money. Some said he was too ready to take advantage of the willingness of others to lay out gifts on him in the expectation of getting their own back again with interest. The recording of the reports, and the defence of them, seem to rest chiefly with the inaccurate Herne. This writer appears to admit his penuriousness and asks us to commend " that Temperance which affords us affluence and plenty ; to admire his self-denial, who was to do little less than a Miracle, to feed a Multitude."

It should be remembered, however, that the old medieval prejudice against the lending of money for interest was perhaps still lingering, and it may have appeared necessary to defend such " usury."

" But this Accusation can lay no hold on Mr Sutton ; for his Estate was gotten by Trade and Offices, and never laid out for Interest until his years admonished him to quit his business, and leave it to younger and more active people, who could not undertake it unless he lent them mony : and what Injury did he to any man to let him have that at £6 per cent. which he was able to improve to 30 or 40 per cent. Besides in his latter time his mony was chiefly laid out upon Annuities. . . . Had our Founder gained that by unlawful Usury, which he disposed to pious uses (which is a sin almost to suppose, unless we had

THOMAS SUTTON.

From a mezzotint after the painting in the possession of Charterhouse.

evidence) yet Restitution is the best sign, and the greatest testimonial of sincere Repentance; and where particular Restitution cannot be made to the parties wronged God requires that it should be given to relieve the poor."

Herne's arguments here are "somewhat musty," and it is kinder, and perhaps more truthful, to believe that none are necessary. Elsewhere Herne says, "It was observed that when he lent money, he would inquire how it was spent, and if he found that it was laid out for Necessaries, Food, and Rayment, he never could be persuaded to take any Use. No doubt but he rose by the steps of Thrift and Frugality, by being diligent in a lawful Calling; nor was he Prodigal, because he intended to be Magnificent."

Herne states that some considered that Sutton was the object of Ben Jonson's mirth. Obviously the allusion is to the chief character of the play of *Volpone or the Fox*, but no less surely the resemblance goes no further than the riches and the childlessness of the old man there depicted. Herne goes on to say that if Jonson did attempt to hint at Sutton in his play, then he was an "ungrateful wretch," as Sutton allowed him a "constant pension." When the matter was brought to Jonson's notice he wrote to Sutton definitely disclaiming any intention of libelling him.

The truth appears to be that Thomas Sutton was a man keenly desirous of being discriminating in the distribution of his charity. To the truly needy he would give, but when his keen business training taught him that the application was a shallow or undeserving one, he could firmly refuse. It is obvious from the numerous begging letters left among his papers that the many who wrote must have had precedent for the hope that they might receive; and there are other evidences that he could give freely. But Sutton expected the recipient of either gift or loan to carry out his part of the obligation with honour. He would give according to his conception of justice, and his relations need not look for any relaxation of the letter or amount

of his gift. In this respect, it is interesting to notice how carefully he specifies and guards some family gifts in his will. These particulars and others matters relating to his charities will be given later. It is said that when his income was two thousand pounds a year, Sutton's allocation of this was a moiety for his household expenses, two or three hundred pounds for charity, four hundred pounds for " Law and Physick and many other necessaries," and the rest for " extraordinary Emergencies." It is probable that when his income grew a larger proportion went to charity.

His personal character was expressed by his modest and seemly dress, " clean and becoming, neither starcht or curious, neither careless or nice." Master of his mind, in speech he was " manly and taking, his Discourse clear and full of Eloquence." Perhaps cautious in coming to a decision he was resolute in carrying it out. He was active in seeing how his servants performed their duty, but ready in reward.

The muniment room at the Charterhouse still contains many documents concerning the loans that Sutton made, and also many letters appealing for help. Among those who borrowed of Sutton, starting with royalty, was Elizabeth herself. She borrowed £100 for a year in 1597. Robert, Earl of Sussex, in gratitude for a loan of forty pounds, directed his keeper at Horsham Park to supply to Sutton, during his life, a buck in summer and a doe in winter. Perhaps repayment in this kind was easier to him than that in gold. The letter of one noble borrower may be quoted in full. It is a lady in this case, the Countess of Cumberland, apparently a friend of the late Mrs Sutton, and she is fully able to speak for herself, with an imperious note to begin with, though this is somewhat modified towards the end.

" Sir, my credit and estimation in the world is no less

now than ever heretofore it hath been, howsoever you conceive thereof: and for the money I have made shift therefore, because I would not break my day, and have accordingly paid it, as Mr Lawe his man well knoweth; for which I wholly relied upon you, presuming partly upon your own promise, as coming from your own kind proffer thereof, and partly upon that former and accustomed kindness, and good parts of friendship which for her sake that is now gone you seemed to have borne to me; which late kindness of yours, though it be not (as I hope) quite extinguished, yet in apparency is not so great as it hath been, in that you failed me when I least feared it; but knowing no just cause of this your so hard and unkind dealing, I do eftsoon desire you, that if now you will not send me the money presently, yet that I may be sure thereof at any time between this and Bartholomew tide. And because you shall not think that I will be any way more beholden unto you, if need be, than you shall like of, I have here sent you a gage, desiring you to accept thereof as being of sufficient value to lend so much money, and that a greater sum upon. And howsoever you plead poverty, I pray God you may never have more need or cause to complain in any other case than, I am sure, you have in this. And further that you may know I urge you to no more than out of your own kindness you proffered of yourself, I have caused my late servant Mr Auditor Fuller, by writing, to signify what he remembereth of your former proffered kindness to me. Thus trusting to receive your absolute answer by this so trusty a messenger (whom, if it were a thousand times so much, I would credit withal), with my very kind commendations I betake you to the safe tuition of the Almighty.

London, this 27th of July, 1602.

your friend ready to please you in a far greater matter than this.

M. Cumberland."

The begging letters preserved in the Charterhouse form an epitome of the art, and if only half were true they make a sorrowful collection. They plead for assistance to marry, and to bury ; one suppliant offers to shed his life's blood if Sutton will comfort him ; with a tag of Latin in his mouth a shipwrecked mariner asks alms. Others " drop into poetry." Richard William sends verses " written in two several sortes on the lettres of his (Sutton's) worshipful name." There is " A prayer for your worship in the termes of a Gardiner."

" Plante Lorde, in hym the tree of Godlie life,
Hedge him aboute with thie stronge fence of Faithe,
And it thee please use eke the proyninge knife,
Leaste, that O Lorde, as the good Gardyner saith,
If suckers draw the Sappe from bowes on hie,
The toppe of tree in time perhaps may die."

This is of obscure use to urge the writer's cause, if indeed he was a suppliant for money. Sutton might perhaps feel that it was he and his kind who were the suckers, tending to bleed him of, at least, his merchantable vital sap. The " proyninge knife " recoiled to the neck of the one who invoked it.

John Hardinge, a musician and " the unworthy chief gent now lyving of the name," writes also, and one feels that this man was sincere.

" Right worshipfull, I am a musitian, who formerly have brought upp noblemens daughters, as well knights as gentlemen's daughters, in the arte of musicke ; who through a long continuance of sycknes (my schollers which were my onlye staye and sole mayntenance beinge long sithence departed into the countrye and not yet returned), am for want of schollers brought into such pinchinge penurye, as that I am not able to protect myself, much less my wife and children. And, hearinge of the generouse reporte of youre whorships worthinesse, and worthye

disposition towardes distressed gentlemen, to schollers and men of arte, chose rather to set my sorrowes to sale to so worshipfull a gent as yourself, being endued with wisdome, mercye, and charitable commiseration, than to break foorth my miseries to any inferior person. Thus cravinge your worships patience for this my bold attempt, not without blushinge cheekes, I cease. By nowe the unworthy chief gent now lyving of the name, John Hardinge, 1611."

Then, there is Anne Laurence, in whom we may perceive somewhat of the tendency of the time to use and cite scripture to one's own purpose. She had gone to Sutton with good hope, report having conveyed to her much of his "Christian disposition" which, she continues, "imbouldened me to be a suter unto you for the lendinge me two hundred poundes, quaentinge (acquainting) you with my occationes to use the same, whearin at my firest and seconde conferences I founde you so favourable, as I trusted greatly on your friendship thearin; yet afterwardes, when I hoped most theareoff, you were fardest from doinge me that good I desired; which, if you had done, though I coulde not give sitch security wich worldy wise men so much stand upon, yet, by God's healpe, I woulde with all possible speade," and so on, in a manner that must have been only too familiar to Sutton. A pitiable tale, but one is left with the impression of a careful though kindly man, ready to investigate the story and character of those who appealed to him, but when, as in this case, at the third interview, he has formed an unfavourable opinion, not one to part with his charity thus. So Anne Laurence has had her say, we can suspect it was a wordy one, and she can now only, "cheifelye for your goode, and partly for my own," write the "truthe withoute disimulation, and sitch as if the eyes of your soull be not starke blinde, the eares of your hearte quite deafe, and your conscience sealed up to sinne, you

shall finde to be better treasure, by me a poore gentlewoman and a maide willingly gathered to bestowe on you, than sitch as I desired to borrow of you, or all the like this worlde affourdes." Then follows a flood of citations of scripture and parables and stories to the writer's end that Sutton should give freely in his life.

" Remember that deathe will steale upon you as a theife ; also that the late lord treasorer, who, no doute hoped to live as longe as you, was sodenly sent for. I neide not tell you that Sir John Spenser is ded ; who, if before he died had given but the twentye part of his worldly wealthe to the poore and needy members of Christ, had don a heavenly deed upon earth, for which his soulle now undoubtedly would have had a Heaven reward."

The mention of Sir John Spencer, regarding whose spiritual welfare we are left in such disquieting doubt, may serve as an excuse for quoting here another remarkable letter. Spencer was the owner of a fortune fit to set beside Sutton's as the greatest of the time, but his wealth was to flow into very different channels, as will be seen by the extracts from a letter written by his daughter and sole heiress to her husband when she had come into her fortune. As it happens the Charterhouse is mentioned in another part of the letter. Spencer owned property immediately to the north of the Charterhouse land. The lady, who knew her value, writes :

" My sweet life,—

" Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of your state, I suppose it were best for me to bethink and consider within myself what allowance were meetest for me. . . . I pray and beseech you to grant to me, your most kind and loving wife, the sum of £2690 quarterly to be paid. Also I would, besides that allowance, have £600 quarterly to be paid for the performance of charitable works ; and those things I would not, neither will not be accountable

for. Also, I would have three horses for my own saddle, that none should dare to lend or borrow ; none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also I would have two gentlewomen lest one should be sick or have some other let ; also believe that it is an indecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate."

Then follows a long list of the coaches, etc., she would have, and she proceeds.

" And I must have two footmen. And my desire is that you defray all the charges for me. And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also I would have to put in my purse £2000 and £200, and so you to pay my debts. Also I would have £6000 to buy me jewels, and £4000 to buy me a pearl chain. Now, seeing I have been and am so reasonable unto you, I pray you do find my children apparel and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women their wages. Also I will have all my houses furnished and my lodging chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit ; as beds, stools, chairs, cushions, carpets, silver warming pans, cupboards of plate, fair hangings and such like. Also my desire is that you would pay your debts, build up Ashby House, and purchase lands, and lend no money, as you love God, to my Lord Chamberlain, who would have all, perhaps your life. . . . So now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what it is that I would not have, I pray you, when you be an earl, to allow me £2000 more than I now desire and double attendance."

Such were to be the future uses of Spencer's money, very different from those of Sutton's.

But to the mind of the present writer Mr William Wynne does his begging most subtly. When it is re-

membered that he is writing within six weeks of Sutton's death his anxiety can be understood, but he words his note very neatly.

"Good Sir, I pray lett it not trouble you to consyder of these fewe lynes, somewhat concerninge you and somewhat myself. I dwelled somtyme neere to a man of great creditt, wealth, and experience in the worlde, whoe was thought somwhat hard and penuriouse in denyinge to hymself the pleasure of his own aboundance and superfluityes; but otherwayes very charitable to his poor neighboures and frendes, in lending them at theyre neede, in doinge other good workes of mercy in his lyef time, and juste in all his pactes and promises. The countrye wheare he lyved remembreth thus of hym. At on tyme a distressed neighbour of hys came to hym to borrowe a small some of money towardes payment of his rente (butt at som unseasonable hower as it seemes), to whom his answeare was that he would lend hym none. 'Sir (quoth the poore fellowe) that is the worst you can doe me." 'Nay, neighbour,' sayd he, 'I could doe much woorse by thee; for I could bear thee in hande to lend thee money, and never mean it.' Nowe in good fayth, methinks this was a playn answere, and suerly he was held to be a good honest playn dealinge man; but yet alas! in the end he proved mortale (which was lamented of many), and so dyed.

"Sir, I crave no more; but whereas havinge lately done you som small curtesye (which I was not bounde to), and thearuppon I desyred you to lend me a very small some of money, which hitherto, in a month's space, you have not refused, but often promysed to send to me, which I have as often expected, even as the Jewes doe for thyre Messias. I say, I crave no more but that I may certaynly knowe your pleasure when and what you will send to me, least you proove mortall as other men, and soe dye before

THE ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPEL.

you sende ; for it beinge true that younge dye soone, it is also ympossible for oulde men to live longe.

WILLIAM WYNNE.

29th October, 1611."

Surely the last paragraph should rank high in the literature of polite begging. Written such a short time before Thomas Sutton was to be " proved mortal (which was lamented of many)," one wonders if William Wynne was satisfied.

This is the species of literature with which Sutton was deluged during the later years of his life. It is pleasant to turn from such epistles to the document in the merchant's own writing, wherein he details the amounts of corn that are to be supplied to those living on his own estate in 1595. It was a time of great scarcity, and the market price was excessive. But Sutton ordered that for thirty weeks certain specified quantities were to be supplied to forty-nine households at a much lower rate. Each detail is given, such as " John Symonds by the week half a bushel, sixpence." It was a kindly act, and his charity was as ordered as that of the Charity Organisation Society.

Mrs Sutton was certainly his helper and abettor in these deeds. " While she lived, Mr Sutton's house was an open hospital," it was said. A few days before her death she writes to tell her husband that they are threshing out the wheat on their farm, and pleads : " Good Mr Sutton, I beseeche you remember the firste for the poore foolkes."

The following letter gives an intimate peep into the life of the Suttons.

" Good Mr Sutton,

" I send you here inclosed a letter from John Hutton, which came by the carrier, and all is well at Balsham, I thank God ; and here is another letter, which I opened before I looked on the superscription, which came by another ; it toucheth a widow, whereof I need not write

to you in her behalf, for I know you have great care of the poor for God's cause, though she were a mere stranger. I send here a note for Lenten stores, if you intend to stay here this Lent, you must increase it for Haberdeen and Lynge ; and so praying God to bless us both, I commit you to his keeping.

your loving obedient Wife,
ELIZ. SUTTON.

Newington, 27th of Jan. 1600.

Twenty great eles.
Four salmons, good and great,
A barrel of Lowborne herrings, of the bigger boyle.
Forty stock-fish, good and ready beaten.
A cade of sprats and a cade of red-herrings, then that be good.
Six pounds of figs, and three pounds of Jorden almonds."

Mrs Sutton seems to have been a homely and charitable woman, a suitable helpmeet for Thomas Sutton during his twenty years of married life. She died in 1602. On the 30th of May she had written from Balsham that she was feeling worse, from the effects of a cold, than she had ever felt before in her life, and she must have died shortly afterwards, as the body was buried, after being embalmed, in the vault of her first husband, Dudley, at Stoke Newington, on the 17th of June.

The monument still exists in the chancel of this church, and is of the characteristic style of the period. Among columns of variegated marble kneel on the one side Dudley in full armour, and on the other his wife, with the daughter kneeling dutifully behind her.

There had been no children from Sutton's marriage, and the illegitimate son, Roger Sutton, seems to have been out of his father's favour during his later life, so Thomas Sutton was left alone to devote his remaining years to the planning of his great charity. Fuller, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, writes: "This I can

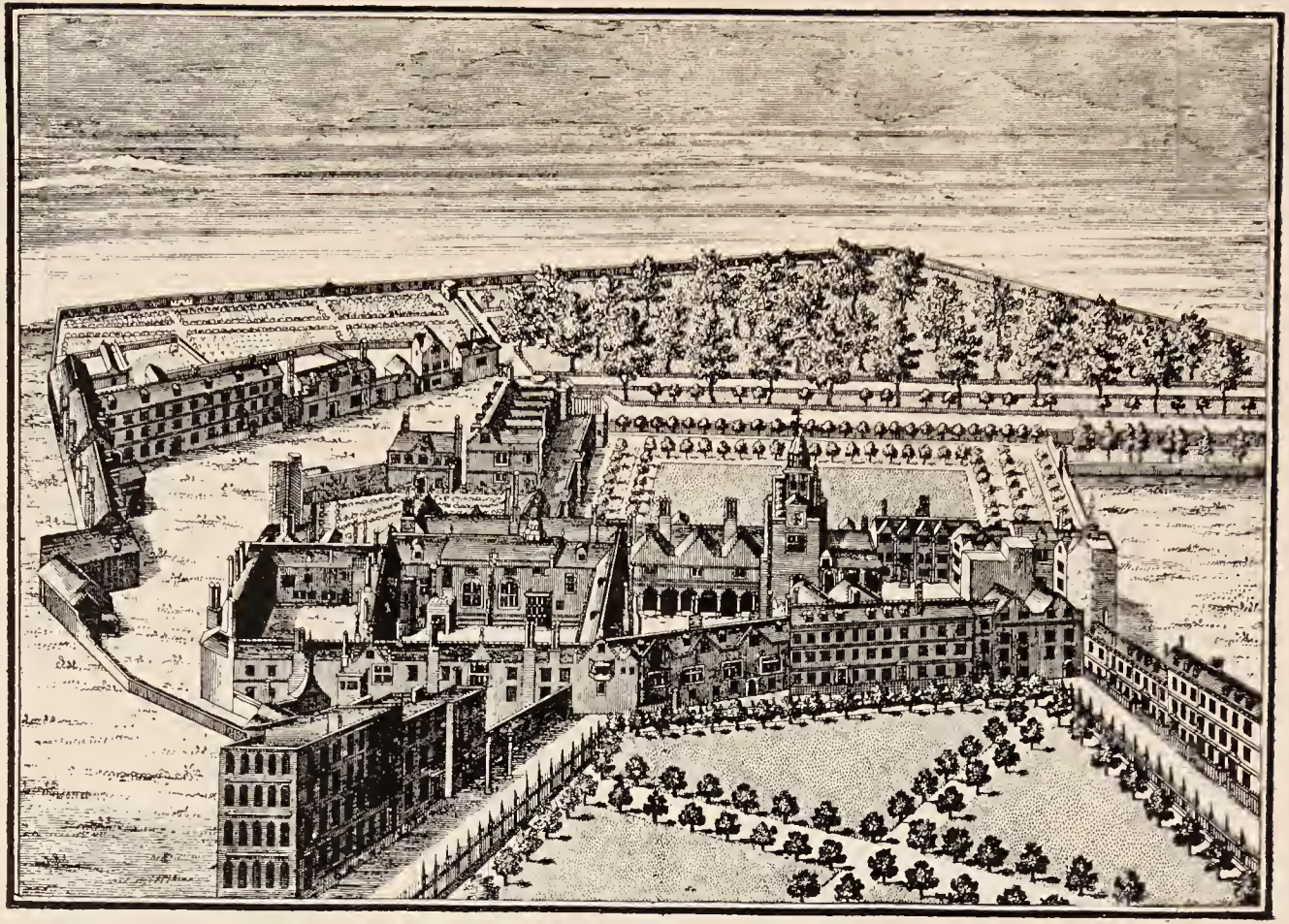
confidently report from the mouth of a creditable witness, who heard it himself and told it me, that Mr Sutton used often to repair into a private garden, where he poured forth his prayers to God, and amongst other passages was frequently overheard to use this expression: 'Lord, Thou hast given me a large and liberal estate, give me also a heart to make use thereof.'"

CHAPTER XVI

THE TESTAMENTS OF THOMAS SUTTON AND THE NEW FOUNDATION OF CHARTERHOUSE

THERE remain to be given the particulars of the steps taken by the founder towards the establishment of the present Charterhouse. A tract of the times, with somewhat of the Puritan phraseology, talks of "Master Thomas Sutton the right Phœnix of Charitie in our times: who, mounting up to the highest top of God's Holy Hill, and gathering together the Aromaticall spices of Love and Compassion, hath consumed himself in the fire of fervent zeal towards God's poore Saints." But from the first conception of the idea to the legal completion of the foundation Sutton was to undergo seventeen years of legal worry and complicated diplomacy.

It was in 1594 that Sutton first registered any intention as to the bestowal of his wealth. He was then sixty-two years of age, and no doubt felt, according to the ideas of the time, that he was getting on in years. On the 20th of June, in this year, he conveyed to Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice (father-in-law of Sutton's step-daughter), and other dignitaries, the whole of his estate in the county of Essex, to found a hospital, or almshouse, at Hallingbury Bouchers. As in the case of the first foundation of Charterhouse there was a long gap between the inception and completion. An Act of Parliament was necessary before the property could be placed in a "Mortmain" for the endowment, and a great deal of water was to flow under the bridges, and, in a more realistic phrase, a great deal of coin to pass into the hands of



CHARTERHOUSE FROM AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PRINT.

courtiers and influential persons before Sutton could get legal permission to complete the work.

In the autumn after the drawing up of the deed for the Hallingbury Bouchers foundation, Sutton made a will in which he gave £3000 to build the hospital and a free school. Thus was foreshadowed the dual form which the foundation of Charterhouse was to take. In the same will Sutton also founded twenty scholarships at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and a similar number at Jesus College, and also ten fellowships at each institution. Many other legacies are provided for, most of which are the same as in his final testament, to be referred to later. There was also the donation to Queen Elizabeth that has been spoken of already.

Sutton finally obtained his Act of Mortmain in 1610, and his intention was still at this time to place his hospital at Hallingbury Bouchers ; but shortly after this he purchased the Charterhouse, and he obtained Letters Patent on June 22nd, 1611, to transfer his foundation to these old monastic buildings.

It was apparently the subtle negotiations, necessary at court throughout these proceedings, which brought Sutton into close relations with a man whom we would think to be a strange friend for the grave and prudent merchant. This is Sir John Harington, from whom there are many letters to Sutton in the Evidence Room at Charterhouse. This gentleman had far from the best of reputations, at least for any depth of character or strength of purpose. A coiner of epigrams and privileged jester at the court of Elizabeth, he had no illusions in his own mind as to the existence of any nobility in his life. Like many another of his time he was out for his own ends. Harington shared in the Tudor blood. His mother was a natural daughter of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth thus far acknowledged the kinship as to stand godmother to John Harington ; " That saucy poet, my god-son," she called

him, in after life. He passed for a follower of Essex, in that favourite's lucky days, but when Harington's wits showed him which way the wind was likely to veer he promptly manœuvred so that he might, as he candidly put it, "escape shipwreck on the Essex coast." His morals may be judged from his having incurred the wrath of Elizabeth by circulating among the ladies of her court a manuscript translation so little seemly as to be too strong for the taste of those robust times. Yet this ingenious gentleman, perhaps considering that he had ripened his crop of wild oats, offered himself, in 1605, as Primate of all Ireland. He believed "my very genius doth in a sort lead me to that country." The half truth of this saying may be taken as typical of the man.

It is recorded of him that he went legacy hunting by pestering his mother-in-law with letters and epigrams in order to persuade her to disinherit her son and leave the estate to the daughter, his wife. The rascal even went to the house where the old lady lay dying, broke open her chests, and endeavoured to take possession.

It may be presumed that some such lofty motives had attracted Sir John to Sutton, and it is likely that the efforts he made to oil the wheels of the court to travel on the road the latter required were not wholly disinterested. No doubt Harington realised that epigrams were not the cards to play in this case, and this may account for the pious tone, which he adopts with admirable verisimilitude, running through the letters to Sutton. The merchant, with whom he would seem to have had little in common, probably bore with him because he knew the methods necessary and thought him the best tool.

Harington had managed to make himself a *persona grata* with King James. The first step he had taken in the campaign to please the King is almost incredible. Towards the end of Elizabeth's life he sent to James a lantern curiously designed to point the moral of the

waning light of the Queen and the splendour that was to follow. On the lantern was a representation of the crucifixion which was apparently introduced solely in order that the words of the thief might appear below: "Lord, remember me when thou comest unto thy Kingdom." A monstrous episode, worthy of the would-be Archbishop of Ireland. But when he reached his haven at King James's court he had the gentlemanly feeling to lament the lack of the good order that Elizabeth had kept. His account of the drunkenness at a pageant is a classic among court revelations.

Harington involved Sutton in a matter which cost the latter much trouble, and indeed cast doubts on his straight dealing, but in the end Sutton makes it quite plain that he only acted as a good and prudent business man. The matter was of no interest save to those concerned in it, and was complicated besides. Suffice it to say that Sutton had taken over a much mortgaged estate at Castle Camps and thereby came into many entanglements and misunderstandings.

It is at least possible that the delays over the obtaining of an act for the alienation in mortmain of Sutton's estate were in part due to the self-interested intrigue of Sir John Harington. Perhaps he found the negotiations too profitable to be dropped. Certainly he raised trouble by making, in interested quarters, various alternative proposals. He promulgated the idea that Sutton should leave his estate to the Duke of York, afterwards Charles the First, whilst Sutton, as a reward in advance, was to be made a baron. But when this rumour came to Thomas Sutton's ear he promptly repudiated such intentions in an uncompromisingly manly and scornful letter.

"May it please your Lordships,—

"I understand that his Majesty is possessed by Sir John Harrington, or by some other by his means, that I

intend to make his Highness's son, the Duke of Yorke, my heire; whereupon, as it is reported, his Highness proposeth to bestowe the honour of a baron on me, whereof as I am most unworthy so I vowe to God, and your Lordships, I never harboured the least thought, or proude desire of any such matter. My mynde in my younger times hath been ever free from ambition, and now I am going to my grave, to gape for such a thing were mere dotage in me, so unworthie allso, as I confess unto your Lordships. That this knight hath been often tampering with me to that purpose, to enterteyne honour, and to make the noble duke my heire, is true, to whom I made that answer, as had he either witte, or honestie (with reverence to your Lordships be it spoken), he never would have engaged himself in this business so egregiously to delude his Majesty, and wrong me. My humble suite unto your Lordships is, that considering this occasion hath brought me into question and in hazard of his Highness's displeasure, having never given Sir John Harrington, nor any man lyvinge, either promise or semblance to do any such act, but upon his motions grew into utter dislike with him for such idle speeche, your Lordships will vouchsafe me this favour to informe his Highness aright, howe things have proceeded directly without my privitie, and withall, that my trust is in his gracious disposition, not to conceit the worste of me for other mens' follies; but that I may have free liberty with his princely leave wherein I rest most assured, to dispose of myne owne, as other his Majesties loyal subjects. And so most humbly recommending my dutie and service to your Lordships, for the increase of whose honoure and happiness I shall ever pray.

I rest
Your Lordships
poor Beadsman,
THOMAS SUTTON."

Beside this letter more than one message was sent to Harington that he should be in no doubt as to Sutton's anger. His reply is a very clever but specious one, worth reading for the insight it gives into the methods of this plausible courtier.

" Sir,—

" Your strange message first by my man, after by my son, now seconded by your speech to myself, did greatlie trouble me. That I have undone you, overthrown your estate, disturbed your designs ; that no man dare buy any land of you, be your feofee, nor take any trust from you, so as that, which you had ordained to good uses, and to redeem your sins, was now so incombered as you were Skant master of your own, and all by means of a bruit among your friends, raised, as you suppose, by me, that you have made Duke Charles your heir, and the King your executor. Far be it from me to abuse, or misreport, either so princelie and pious an intention, as I know his Magestie hath to further all good works, or so godlie a purpose, as you pretend to do some, but God cannot be mocked, tho' we may dissemble with men."

He pleads that Sutton originated the idea, and continues: " For the suite you would make to his Majesty, which I will not so much as guess at, I will say what I thinke ; you will make noe suit but such as will find favour and expedition ; and seeing you suppose I wronged you before, I would be glad to make you amends now, by any endevor of mine. Onlie my old suite you may not forget, to be a benefactor to Bath Church in your life-time, for alms in one's life is like a light borne before one, whereas alms after death, is like a candle carried behind one. Do somewhat for this church, you promist to have seen it ere this ; whensoever you will go to Bathe, my lodgings shall be at your commandement ; the baths would strengthen your sinews, the alms would comfort your

soule. . . . There lacks but monie for workmanship [for Bath Church] which if you would give, you should have many good prayers in the church now in your life-time, when they may indeed do you good, and when the time is to make friends of the Mammon of Iniquity, as Christ bids us, that we may be received into everlasting tabernacles, to which God sends us, to whose protection I leave you, etc.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

From Greenwich, this 13th June, 1608."

Perhaps if words sufficed, he would not have made such a bad Archbishop after all !

Sutton seems to have composed his quarrel with Harington, as in early September the latter writes from Bath : " Mr Sutton, I long to heer how you doe, and long more to see you heer, whear I keep my lodging for you, according to my promise, and wyll whyle there is any hope of your cominge." The king has promised the matter of the charity shall go through. " Let me heer of you, and think not that I love you as those that wold gayn by you, but I wolde gayn you and myselfe to God. . . . You rich men should open your barnes ; geve, lend, distribute to the poore, and lay up therefore in heaven ; ffayth is good, hope is good, but charity is the cheefer, *major horum caritas*. Heer are lawyers at Bathe ; Justice Willimes, an honest and stout Judge ; heer is Sir Henry Montacu, Recorder ; Mr Francis Moore. Heere be devynes, heer be physicians, and here is Saynt Billet,[1] the benefactor of this church, and founder of the new hospitall for lame pilgrims. Heer ys the young Lord Norrys, whom sycknes hath allmost made olde. And heer be lame old men whome the Bath hath almost made younge. Believe me, I thynk yt would do you much good ; and

[1] Billet was executor for Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who left money for charitable uses in Bath. His canonisation by Harington was perhaps a hint to Sutton as to the virtues and rewards of giving alms.

because I wysh you much good, I wish you heer. I can let you have honest roome, and cost me never a peny. So fare you well.

your trew ffrend,
JOHN HARYNGTON."

The writer is very plausible, but the " trew ffrend, John Haryngton," must submit to be judged by his reputation and past action, and the record is not one to inspire confidence in his absolute disinterestedness. It is perhaps idle to contemplate what Sutton thought of the man. It is hardly possible that he was blinded by his protestations of friendship. We can get a good idea of the lever required to work forward the Act that Sutton so ardently required from a remark in a later letter from Harington. He writes from Bath again (the royal mistress, the founder of his family, had been granted estates there by Henry VIII., so Harington was often there), and he bids Sutton make his bill of Mortmain ready for the opening of parliament, and adds, " I can assure you it shall pass if you will be as good as your word, and so I am bidden to tell you." In those days every man, or almost every one, had his price, and Bacon, when attacked later on, could plead that he " had but shared in the corruption of the time."

Harington, like Mr William Wynne whom we have quoted already, evidently thought that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, for after more solicitation that Sutton will come to the lodging he can offer at Bath (" warm and clenly, good dry wood for your fire ; the town hath ever good beefe and good bredde ") he ends a letter with " this distich that my father taught me above forty years since—

'In doing good use no delay,
For tyme is swift, and slydes away.' "

From the date of his first will it had been Sutton's

intention to place his hospital at Hallingbury Bouchers, close to Bishop Stortford, in Essex, and the land he intended to use there is still part of the endowments of his foundation; and he did in fact secure, in 1610, an act of parliament to authorise him to found it in that place. But he now entered into negotiations to purchase the buildings of Charterhouse. On the 9th of May, 1611, this was conveyed to him by Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Theophilus Lord Howard, Thomas Earl of Arundel, and William Lord Howard. The property is described as consisting of "all and singular Messuages, Houses, Edifices, Buildings, Barns, Stables, Dove-houses, Courts, Folds, Curtelages, Yards, Orchards, Gardens, Shops, Sellars, Sollars, Closes, Inclosures, Waste Grounds, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Fruits, Profits, Alterages, Wayes, Waters, Rents, Reversions, Services, Waifes, Straies, Goods of Felons', Outlaws, and Fugitives." The purchase price was £13,000, but Sutton seems to have prudently held this, or part of it, back till he was assured of Suffolk's powerful persuasion towards obtaining permission to change the position of the new foundation to these buildings. On May 25th, the earl writes:

"Good Mr Sutton, I pray you let Fryer have a thousand and fifty pounds, and upon Monday I will see you myselfe, and we will take order for the rest of the money, and for dispatching of your charter, from the King. And so I commit you to God as your loving friend.

T. SUFFOLKE."

On the following 22nd of June, Sutton, no doubt with a thankful heart, received the Letters Patent authorising the change of site for his hospital and free school. He had hoped to be the first Master of Charterhouse, but recognising that his end was too near, he appointed, on the 30th of October, the Reverend John Hutton, Vicar of Littlebury, in Essex. He completed the deed of gift on

the first of November, and his final will bears the date of November the 28th. He died a few days later, aged seventy-eight, and the day of his death, December the 12th, has ever since been celebrated by the recipients of his charity as " Founder's Day."

The documents relating to the Sutton foundation are wordy and too long to quote here. The first was an act of Parliament, and it is characteristic of the time that when Sutton required to change the position of his hospital, " there being then no parliament sitting," it is King James himself, of his own " especial grace, certain knowledge and meere motion," who is the authority to grant permission. The Stuart king had started on his policy of doing without the parliament, as far as possible, so the latter charter is a royal letter patent.

The charity is to be the " Hospital of King James," founded " at the humble petition and only costs and charges of Thomas Sutton, Esquire." A form of vicarious charity which must have been not displeasing to that impecunious monarch. Fuller commenting on this says: " This his foundation he called the hospital of King James, all discreet subjects having learned this lesson from politic Joab calling Rabbah after the name of King David."

By the patent the first board of governors is appointed, and the high rank and character of these gives an estimate of the importance of the foundation. It has ever since been a high honour to be a Governor of Charterhouse. First comes Archbishop Abbot of Canterbury (to be the founder himself, later on, of a hospital at Guildford), then follow Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, the Lord High Treasurer, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Ely, the last being the saintly and learned Lancelot Andrewes, fresh from his task of presiding over part of the work on the Authorised Version of the Bible, which had been finished the previous spring. Then came another great

and clean charactered man from a different sphere, Sir Edward Coke, the judge, followed by other lawyers, deans, and gentlemen.

A letter from Secretary Conway to Laud, congratulating the latter on his appointment to the See of London, serves to show how important the work of the Governors of Charterhouse was thought to be. Conway reminds the new Bishop that among the greater things that fall under his power to prepare the advancement of the Church and the commonwealth (two words which were shortly after this to become antagonistic) is the care of Sutton's Hospital.

Thomas Sutton's will is also a long document, covering twenty-three leaves, and gathering up in its bequests the interests and associations of a long life.

"In the name of God, Amen. The second day of November, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred and eleven, I, Thomas Sutton of Camps Castle, in the county of Cambridge, Esquire, being weak in body, and of good and perfect mind and memory, thanks be given to Almighty God for the same, do make and declare this my last will and testament."

Only some of the bequests can be mentioned. Sutton remembers his years of work at Berwick-on-Tweed by the distribution there among the poor, of "one hundred marks of lawful money of England." Henry Tutty, a late gunner there and therefore comrade, also has a legacy.

Another reminiscence of his military life goes with the bequest to the fishermen of Ostend of £100. This is best explained by quoting the clause from the earlier will which relates to this, and is fuller.

"Also I give to the Fishermen of the town of Ostend in the Low Countries in recompence of two Prizes, viz., Fly Boats loaded with barreld Cod, Salt, and other things, which I bought at Newcastle upon Tyne, about the sixteenth year of the Queen Magesty's reign, of the Prince

of Orange's Captains two hundred pounds. I desire the same men, or their Children, to have the same, if the true owners may be found out, if not, then I will the same to be given among the Poorest Fishermen of that town."

No doubt Sutton had legally bought these two cargoes, captured by the rebelling Netherlanders from subjects of their Spanish opponents, but it is a little difficult to reconcile oneself to his treatment of the recompense. Possibly the war with Spain prevented him giving this money in his life-time, but he surely meted out very strict justice in reducing the bequest to £100 in the last will. Bearcroft hardly makes the matter better with his explanation that Ostend had been so shattered by the long and famous siege it had just undergone " that Mr Sutton doubted that there were but a very few of the poor Fishermen left."

There are many bequests to individuals and their surviving families, and the careful old man goes through the long list of those he wished to remember. The bequest to the surviving children of Dr Cox carries us back to Sutton's boyhood and the stormy days of religious persecution.

There are several sums left towards the mending of highways such as that between Islington and Newington. This is a form of bequest which sounds strange to us, but which was of frequent occurrence in medieval times and later.

Another medieval bequest is that of one thousand pounds to be lent at discretion of the Lord Mayor and Alderman of London in portions of £100 each to ten likely young merchants lacking capital, but " of honest life and conversation, and towardly in their trades." They were to have the use of it for a year.

Among the family bequests is one of two thousand pounds to Lady Ann Popham, his stepdaughter, and here

note how carefully Sutton guards against his relations making further claims against his estate.

" Upon condition nevertheless, and so that the said Sir Francis Popham, and the said Lady Ann his wife, give a sufficient discharge and a general release to mine executor or executors, as well for that sum, as also for the receipt of all the rest of her part or portion of the plate, money and household stuff already paid, and delivered to them or to their use, as appeareth by several bills or notes subscribed with my own hand, which I do think to be the very true half, and better half of the said plate, money and household-stuff, part whereof was delivered by one John Fishborne, my late servant, to Sir John Popham, Knight, late Lord Chief Justice of England, at his late house in Chancery Lane. The rest of the household-stuff, as chairs, stools, bedsteads, kitchin-stuff, tables and such like, was delivered by the said Fishborne to the said Sir John Popham's servants at Newington, one thousand pounds in money paid in this sort, viz., to Sir John Popham, by his servant Straker, upon the said Sir John's bill before marriage three hundred pounds, which bill after the marriage I returned to the said Sir John Popham ; seven hundred pounds were paid to the said Sir John Popham upon the marriage of one Mr Anthony Law, late dwelling in Paternoster-row, London; the better moiety of the plate due to Sir Francis Popham, was by appointment of the said Sir John Popham, received by one Mr Clark, sometimes towards the said Sir John, and now a counsellor at the law of the Middle-Temple, as I guess."

Here speaks the careful merchant, and he goes on to reiterate that these bequests shall be void if the acquittance he desires is not given, and then these further sums shall devolve to his executors to be used " partly to the amending of highways, and partly to poor maidens' marriages, and partly to the releasing of poor men that lie in prison for debt, and partly to the poor people of mine

DINNER-HOUR AT CHARTERHOUSE.

intended hospital, when it shall please God that it shall be established and erected. And whereas perhaps it is or may be supposed that the said Sir John Popham hath paid three hundred pounds to Sir Rowland Hayward of the city of London, alderman, as a debt due unto him upon the bonds of John Dudley and Thomas Dudley, I protest before God that I paid the whole three hundred pounds to the said Sir John Popham." And the method of the payment is detailed.

Anyone who has borrowed money from Sutton is to be released from further interest if they pay the principal within a half-year of his death. The bequests to form scholarships and fellowships at Cambridge of the earlier will are omitted now, though Jesus and Magdalene Colleges receive five hundred pounds apiece.

Five thousand pounds are given towards the building of his foundation, and he gives another thousand into its treasury " to begin their stock with and to defend the rights of the house."

Sutton knew his times and foresaw that his will and foundations would be subjected to eager and interested inspection by those who could hope to benefit by upsetting it, and he endeavoured to create a body of those who would be anxious to uphold it, as is witnessed by this clause. " Item, my will and full intent and meaning is, that if any person or persons whosoever, to whom I have in or by this my last will and testament given and bequeathed any legacy, or sum or sums of money shall anyways gainsay, impugn, contradict or impeach this my last will and testament," then any such person shall utterly be barred from receiving any such legacy.

The legacies amount to £12,110, 17s. 8d., and £4000 was found in his chest. His chain of gold weighed 54 ozs., and was valued at £162; his damask gown was appraised at £10. The total amount realised by his executors up to the year 1620 was £45,163, 9s. 9d.,

this no doubt being apart from the lands endowing the hospital.

The old man took extraordinary precautions to attest the validity of his will. Six witnesses sign the acknowledgment. A few days later he secured the recognition by John Crooke, a judge of the King's Bench, and Henry Thoresby, a Master of Chancery, that it was his will, and he even went to the length of obtaining, on the last day of his life, the declaration of the parson of Stoke-Newington and four others, that they knew of his having made a will. Thus died Thomas Sutton, thoughtful and anxious to the last for the safety of his great work.

He had judged well. In a short time we read in a letter of Sir John Bennet's that there is in London " much talk about rich Sutton's bequest of £200,000 for charitable uses, which is so great that the lawyers are trying their wits to find some flaw in the conveyance." But the history of these attacks will be given later.

Sutton died at Hackney, and it seems strange to our ears to note that his executors gave instructions that the body should remain there till the roads into London were in fit and firm condition for a funeral procession. The body was embalmed at a cost of £40, 4s. 8d., and the bowels buried at Hackney.

The executors had determined on a magnificent ceremony when the clean roads of spring would permit it, and arranged for the reception of the body in a vault in Christ Church close by Smithfield and Newgate, till the final resting place at Charterhouse should be ready. On the 28th of May the executors met at Hackney, and the funeral set out, the whole ceremony scarcely seeming to accord with the directions of the deceased that it was to take place " with the least pomp and charge that may be."

It started with a " handsome collation " of 6 gallons of " Ipochrist," 12 lbs. of diet-bread; 6 boxes of wafers,

6 barrels of beer, a hogshead of Claret, 16 gallons of Canary Wine, 12 gallons of white wine and 10 gallons of Rhenish, together with bread and cakes.

The procession which was then formed was headed by a hundred old men in black coats preceding the corpse, and behind walked Simon Baxter, as chief mourner, and the governors. Baxter was Sutton's nephew, and despite his reverential appearance here he was at that very time doing his utmost to upset the cherished designs of the uncle he was apparently honouring. A halt was made at the house of Dr Lawe in Paternoster Row, and when once more the procession started it is said to have included 6000 persons, and to have taken six hours to reach Christ Church, which is only a few yards distant. This is a fairly obvious exaggeration however.

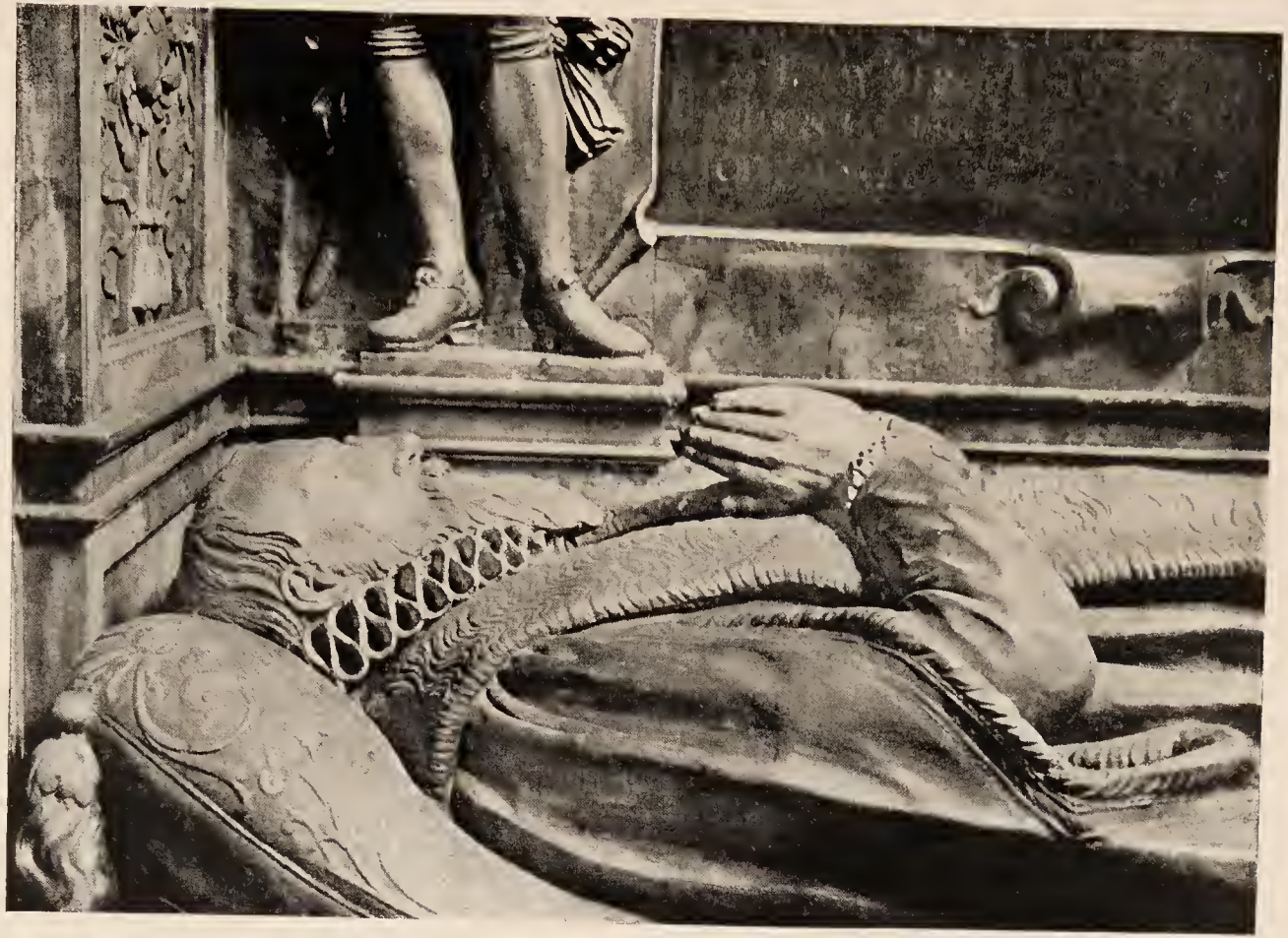
The mourning cloth for the assembly, from governors down to servants, and for the hangings, cost £890, 14s. 4d., and the silk and "grograms" for the ladies another £371, 18s. These costs seem disproportionate to the ten shillings spent on flowers for strewing. Three dozen bundles of rushes were strewn on the floor of the church.

After the ceremony the company assembled for the funeral feast, which was held in the Stationers' Hall, specially draped for the purpose at a cost of £159, 9s. 10d. Arthur Hollingworth, cook, of London, furnished the viands, which included 32 neats' tongues, 40 stone of beef, 24 marrow bones, and a lamb, 48 capons, 32 geese, 4 pheasants, 12 pheasant pullets, 12 godwits, 24 rabbits, 6 hernshaws, 48 turkey chickens, 48 roast chickens, 18 house pigeons, 72 field pigeons, 36 quails, 48 ducklings, 160 eggs, 3 salmons, 4 congers, 10 turbots, 2 dories, 24 lobsters, 4 mullets, a firkin and keg of sturgeon, and 3 barrels of pickled oysters, 16 gammons of bacon, and 4 of Westphalia, 16 dried tongues, 16 chicken pies, 16 pasties, 16 made dishes of rice, 16 neat's tongue pies,

16 custards, 16 dishes of "leach," 16 "gunice" pies, 16 orange pies, 16 "forst-back meats," 16 gooseberry tarts, 8 "redeare" pies, 6 dishes of white "leach," 6 grand salads and other foods.

Sutton had indeed desired a simple funeral, but, as often happens, the executors could not resist the temptation to place a higher value on the obsequies than the departed would have wished. The total expenditure on the funeral and the tomb afterwards prepared for him at Charterhouse was no less than £2228, 10s. 3d., an immense sum for the purpose at that time. The gifts on the day after the funeral to ten parishes of sums for the poor varying from five to two pounds do not seem adequate after such lavish expenditure. It is interesting to note that the receipt for the Herald's Fees and "For the painter's work (as by his bill appeareth)" is signed by William Camden, Clarenceux. This is the great antiquary and he attended the funeral.

The body of Thomas Sutton had still a further journey to take. A vault was prepared for its reception in the Charterhouse chapel and, after an interval, to this it was removed. This translation appeared to have been by night, unless a London fog would account for the use of "48 burning torches." It was, according to Smythe, on the 12th of December, 1614, that the pensioners carried their honoured founder to his final rest amongst them.



Effigy of Thomas Sutton on His Tomb in the Chapel.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHARTERHOUSE

THOMAS SUTTON had left no direct heir, and it was one Simon Baxter, the son of his only sister, who appeared at the funeral as chief mourner. Though no provision was made for him in the will save a small bequest of £300, yet Sutton before his death appears, in some way or other, to have given him a fine estate in Lancashire. Not content with this, Baxter, immediately after his uncle's death, attempted forcibly to enter into the Charterhouse and lay claim to the whole estate. The physical accomplishment of his purpose was prevented by the vigilance of the porter, Richard Bird, who thus proved his faithful service to his old master. Foiled in the attempt to secure to himself the proverbial nine points of the law, Baxter promptly entered into legal proceedings to enforce his claim. As he even then was able to make a good fight, it would seem that the present Charterhouse is much indebted to Richard Bird, the porter. The whole story of the trouble the executors had in fighting this scandalous attempt is one more revelation of the sordid and corrupt spirit in high places at that time.

Baxter petitioned the king to set aside all the solemn documents and wills that had registered what the nephew must have known had been for many years the fixed intention of Sutton. To his aid came, in the person of Francis Bacon, the most subtle and enigmatic mind of the time. Throughout his whole career, Bacon, if the good advice that his intellect told him was just seemed likely to be inacceptable, never hesitated to provide more

palatable fare. In the realm of practical politics his worldly self-advancement, to the end it is true that he might the more effectively pursue his nobler ends, was the final principle that he acknowledged. Among the maxims he laid down in youth for his own guidance was, "Avoid repulse, never row against the stream." He was now Solicitor-general, fully intending to serve the court and obtain further advancement. Remembering this, we are unlikely to be doing Bacon an injustice if we believe that his suggestions, in a letter to the king, on the subject of Sutton's foundation, were dictated mainly by servility to the court, and by the idea that if a change were made in the manner of the bestowal of the estate, there might appear a loophole for appropriation by the king of part of the money; a result which would react to Bacon's advantage also.

His letter starts thus:

"May it please your Majesty,—

"I find it a positive precept in the old law, 'That there shall be no sacrifice without salt'; the moral whereof (besides the ceremony) may be, that God is not pleased with the body of a good intention, except it be seasoned with that spiritual wisdom and judgement, as it be not easily subject to be corrupted and perverted: for salt in the scripture is both a figure of wisdom and lasting. This cometh into my mind upon this act of Mr Sutton, which seemeth to me as a sacrifice without salt; having the materials of a good intention, but not powdered with any such ordinances and institutions, as may preserve the same from turning corrupt, or at least from becoming unsavoury and of little use; for though the choice of the Feoffees be of the best, yet neither can they always live; and the very nature of the work itself, in the vast and unfit proportions thereof, is apt to provoke a misemployment. . . . For to design the Charterhouse, a building fit

for a Prince's habitation, for a Hospital, is all one as if one should give in alms a rich embroidered cloak to a beggar. And certainly a man may see, *tanquam quae oculis cernuntur*, that if such an edifice, with six thousand pounds revenue, be erected into one Hospital, it will in a small time degenerate, to be made a preferment of some great person to be master, and he to take all the sweet, and the poor to be stinted, and take but the crumbs; as it comes to pass in divers hospitals of this realm, which have but the names of hospitals and are but wealthy benefices in respect of the Mastership; but the poor, which is the *propter quid*, little relieved. . . .

"This meditation hath made me presume to write these few lines to your Majesty being no better than good wishes, which your Majesty's great wisdom may make something or nothing of."

Thus expresses itself the least worthy side of Bacon's character, and he goes on to feed that doctrine of the divine right of kings which was to develop such disastrous results to the Stuarts. He does indeed protest that he does not write to upset the wills if they are good in law, but note this sentence: "But if there be a right, and birth right planted in the heir, and not remediable by courts of equity, and that right submitted to your Majesty, whereby it is both in your power and grace what to do, then do I wish that this rude mass and chaos of a good deed were directed to a solid merit and durable charity, than to a blaze of glory, that will crackle a little in talk and then quickly extinguish."

The poison of the advice thus tendered is only made more dangerous by the admixture of much sound argument to support the kind of alteration he would suggest. He details how he would split up the charity over England for, "greatness of relief accumulated in one place doth rather invite a swarm and surcharge of poor than relieve those that are naturally bred in the place: like to ill-

tempered medicines, that draw more humour to the part than they evacuate from it."

In one passage we have a foretaste of poor law Reform and a smack of present-day Majority and Minority Reports, with a leaning on Bacon's part to the minority.

" I commend most houses of relief and correction, which are mixed hospitals, where the impotent person is relieved, and the sturdy beggar buckled to work, and the unable person also not maintained to be idle (which is ever joined with drunkenness and iniquity) but is sorted with such work as he can manage and perform ; and when the uses are not distinguished as in other hospitals, whereof some are for aged and impotent, some for children, and some for correction and vagabonds, but are general and promiscuous ; so that they may take off poor of every sort from the county as the country breeds them. And thus the poor themselves shall find the provision, and other people the sweetness of the abatement of the tax." On the side of learning he sees no need for further schools for the poor, as so many of these are being educated that there is a lack of servants for husbandry and apprentices in trade. Here again we find that a " modern problem " is three centuries old. Therefore Bacon would use the money in the universities to teach further the learned. Let the professors there have their stipends raised to one hundred pounds a year though even this " be not near so great as they are in some other places, where the greatness of the reward doth whistle for the ablest men out of all foreign parts."

This in Bacon's opinion is how learning shall best be advanced, " learning (I say) which under your Majesty, the most learned of Kings, may claim some degree of elevation. . . . Thus have I briefly delivered unto your Majesty my opinion touching the employment of this charity, whereby this mass of wealth, which was in the owner little better than a stack or heap of muck, may be

spread over your Kingdom to many a fruitful purpose, your Majesty planting and watering, and God giving the increase." A phrase in the last sentence recalls one in his Essays. "Money is like muck, not good except it be spread."

Fortunately for the executors of Sutton's will all the lawyers of the time were not so servile as Bacon. Sir Edward Coke was now Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and he seems to have specially put forth his power of mind and character to aid the defence. The proceedings dragged on, and it became apparent that some sacrifice to the powers must be made. There were no doubt preliminary negotiations, but the veil is lifted by a letter from Abbot of Canterbury and Andrewes of Ely to their fellow executors. These two seem to have taken the lead of the executorial body, and it is certain that the need must have been great before they, and particularly the latter, would have consented to the ambiguous bribe that they now propose.

They write from Lambeth on the 26th of June, 1613, hinting that Sutton had provided £20,000 to be employed "and bestowed by his Executors, or the Survivor of them with the advice of his supervisors, in some good works or charitable uses for his intended Hospital, and for poor people, or otherwise, as they in their wisdom and discretion should think fit. . . . We being the overseers of the said Mr Sutton's last will and testament, and desiring nothing more than the performance thereof according to his true intent and meaning; having advisedly considered that there is not any charitable work (in our understandings) better for the common wealth, than the upholding, maintaining, and repairing of bridges. . . . And we being given to understand that Berwick Bridge, upon the river Tweed, which is the chiefest passage between both Kingdoms, is very much ruinated, or rather utterly decayed, and will cost a very great sum of money

(which as the necessity of the times is, cannot otherwise well be spared to repay it), do therefore (as well in the performance of the will of the said Mr Sutton, as also in regard his Majesty most graciously hath been pleased to further the establishing and settling of his Hospital) advise and wish you, being Mr Sutton's Executors, to pay unto his Majesty, into the receipt of his Highness's exchequer, the sum of ten thousand pounds, parcel of the said twenty thousand pounds, remaining in your hands, and power to dispose of, towards repairing of the said Berwick Bridge, which we doubt not his Majesty will graciously accept, and besides redound greatly to the benefit of both Kingdoms, and even so we bid you heartily farewell."

The executors took the hint, and a fortnight afterwards they received a letter under the privy seal of King James, in which is recited, with admirable gravity, the advice that has been given by the Right Reverend Fathers in God, George of Canterbury and Lancelot of Ely, towards the " part performance " of the will of Thomas Sutton. Ten thousand pounds have been received and—here we seem to note the more intimate personal voice of his Majesty himself—" We hereby let you wit that we are well pleased to accept thereof accordingly."

The receipt followed in two days' time, and the money was registered in the royal Treasury as " money extraordinarily raised since his Majesty's coming to the crown." If further light on the proceeding is required, it may be found in the fact that five days after the executors decide to assist that much ruinated bridge at Berwick, the Chancellor gives his final decree in favour of the upholding of Sutton's testamentary wishes.

This case was argued before all the judges of England, and, as reported by Sir Edward Coke, at that time Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, " It was resolved by all the court, except Mr Baron Snigge and

THE COURTS OF CHARTERHOUSE.

Mr Justice Croke, that judgement should be given against the Plaintiff (Mr Baxter) and those two, *mutata opinione*, assented also to the judgement. And the Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England, hearing all the arguments, agreed also in opinion with the Judges. And so this great work of charity has tasted of such charity which ought to be in Judges which is declared in the Statute of Westminster. *'Summa Charitus est facere Justiciam omnibus personis omni tempore quando necesse fuerit.'*"

So Simon Baxter's suit had failed, and having lost the greater he had the meanness to try for the smaller. He had, by endeavouring to upset the will, forfeited the three hundred pounds left to him therein, and now found himself faced with that Nemesis of the unsuccessful litigant, his lawyers' bill. He sends in his humble petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the "suppliant cannot deny, but being seduced by wicked counsel, and being an unlearned man, he was contented (to his now great grief) to yield his consent, that his name should be used to bring an action against the Hospital; by means whereof your suppliant hath not only much damnified the Hospital, but hath also inadvisedly spent a great part of his estate, and is likely to pay great sums of money for his seducers in a manner to his undoing." He will be ready to "strengthen and establish the said Hospital, if it shall be needful, by all ways and means whatsoever he may or can."

He is thus claiming that he had only been pushed on by others, and we cannot tell how far this may be true. Are we to take the fact that the Archbishop writes to the executors that "since this Petitioner seemeth sorrowful for his error, I wish it should be pardoned" as a sign that he believed his plea?

The dangers being now passed the executors entered into possession and met at Charterhouse on the 30th of July, 1613. For these old walls the stormy period of

tragedy was past; henceforth they were to contain the quiet of peaceful charity; there were to live there now, not great nobles with the fate of traitors hanging over them, but men with the work of life past, come to spend their last days in quiet.

Of the business before the Governors there was first the definition as to what manner of persons should partake of Sutton's charity. There were to be fourscore of these, and " They shall not be holden qualified and capable of the Place, unless they can bring good Testimony and Certificate of their good Behaviour, and soundness in Religion, and such as have been Servants to the King's Majesty, either Decrepit or Old, Captains either at Sea or Land, Soldiers maimed or impotent, decayed Merchants, Men fallen into decay thro' Shipwreck, Casuality of Fire, or such evil Accident, those that have been Captives under the Turks, and such like."

The maimed may be admitted at forty years, and the whole at fifty.

As to the boys for the school only those shall be admitted whose parents have no estates to leave to them, or want means to bring them up.

The constitution and rules of Charterhouse were drawn up with remarkable fullness and care, and are largely due to the original Governors. They were a body of men among the best of their period, and they included, in Lancelot Andrewes and John Coke, two men, in particular, of great power and character.

The constitution which was thus elaborated may be here briefly described. The Governors were to be in number sixteen, of which the Master was to be one. The three high offices were those of Master, Preacher, and Schoolmaster, and the spheres of these three formed the " triple good," as Bacon termed it, of Sutton's foundation. The master is the most important of the three, and he shall have " the œconomical Government of the House

and Household during the Governors' pleasure." The general provisions are very minute, "All which Orders and Constitutions the Master, Preacher, Register and other Officers, Members, and Servants of the House whom it may concern, shall observe and obey, as they will answer the Contrary at their peril."

The Preacher's duties may be guessed. There were to be daily obligatory services, and communion, including those boys above sixteen, at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. The scholars are to be catechised every Sunday afternoon "in the Presence of the Pensioners," and an Exposition made thereupon for their better instruction in the Fundamentals of Religion.

The Preacher must be at least thirty, but twenty-seven years would qualify the Schoolmaster. By the original foundation the boys were to number forty, and to this number the foundation scholars, or "gown boys," were restricted till the nineteenth century. Each boy was to bring with him to school a change of outer apparel, two new shirts, three new pairs of stockings, three new pairs of shoes, and books for the form he is in, or money to buy them. Boys of the highest form shall every Sunday "set up in the Great Hall four Greek and four Latin verses apiece, upon any Part of the second Lesson appointed for that Day, for the Master of the Hospital or any Stranger to view and examine; as also two shall be weekly appointed for reading the Chapters and saying Grace at every meal in both Halls."

The Schoolmaster "shall be careful and discreet to observe the Nature and Genius of the Scholars, and accordingly instruct and correct them. In correction they shall be moderate, in instruction diligent, correcting according to the quality of the fault in Matters of manners, and according to the Capacity of the fault in matters of learning."

Each Pensioner shall bring two pair of new sheets with

him on entry. All Pensioners shall give dutiful reverence to the Master, they shall stand before him with their heads uncovered, not presuming while they are in his "Presence to put on their hats (except it be at the Table at Dinner or Supper), and none shall give or use any evil reviling or railing Speeches of him before his Face, or behind his back."

"No pensioner, nor inferior Officer, shall wear any Weapon or unseemly Apparel in the Hospital, but only such as it becometh Hospital men to wear."

They must wear their gowns whilst within the Hospital, but never in a tavern or ale house "upon Pain of such Punishment as the Master in his discretion shall inflict." They are allowed two months' leave of absence a year, with allowance then of two-thirds of commons.

It was established that "There shall be an Anniversary Commemoration of the Founder kept every 12th Day of December with solemn Service, a Sermon, and such Increase of Commons, as is allowed on great Festivals."

Soon after the foundation a most elaborate table was drawn up of the amounts to be spent on the feeding of each particular section of the establishment. For "Eight at the Master's table, allowed for Bread, Beer, and Dyet and Detriments, five pounds per week," and for weekly "Beavors," at the same table at the rate of thirteen pence a head per week. There are twenty-three "Exceeding days" allowed for with an extra allowance on food. Clothing is also exactly priced, and wages specified for each individual from the Master to the "Scrape Trencher." The Clock Keeper is to receive nine shillings a year. The Porter receives, besides his wages, an allowance for "Beavors." Repairs to the building are placed at forty pounds, and ten pounds can be spent on burials. The "Loss in cutting out beef" is not to exceed eleven pounds.

In the early eighteenth century there were added a

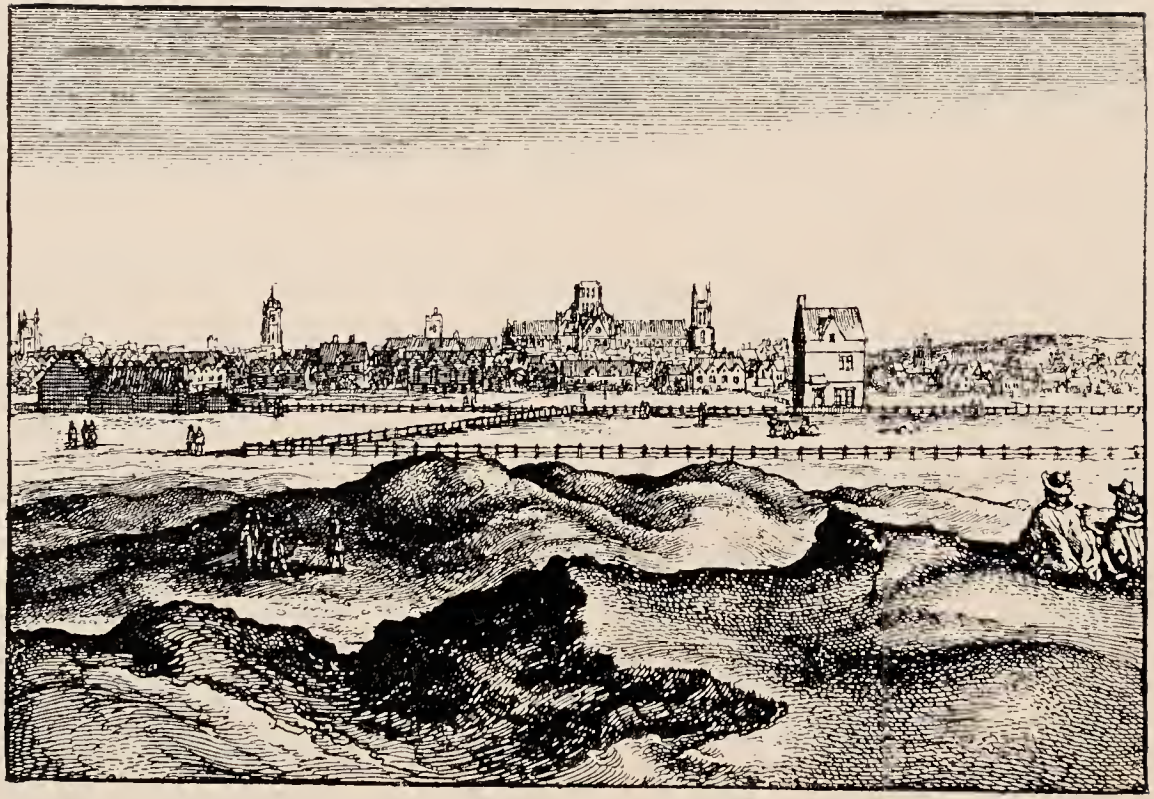
batch of minute regulations for the duties of some of the lower officials of Charterhouse. "The Grooms of the Hall shall diligently attend in the Halls at Dinner and Supper, and sweep and keep clean the Halls, and make and look after the publick Fires in the Halls." "The Porter shall utterly repel . . . all common beggars, rude or disorderly Persons, and he is to note if any Pensioners returning home seem disordered in Liquor."

There is something charming in thus giving these minute directions, and, in the same book, putting the officers, from Master and Preacher to the Grooms of the Hall, on their mettle for the proper execution of their work. This may be reflected in the delightful inclusiveness of an mid nineteenth-century book on Charterhouse in which, as "Members of the Establishment," a list is given, on one page, headed by "Her Majesty the Queen, His Highness Prince Albert," and thus down the page past Governors, Officers, Schoolmasters, Poor Brethren, Scholars, to the Servants, ending with "Thomas Marsdon, Scullion," and "Mary Scarborough, Kitchen maid."

There were probably always among eighty old men such as the Charterhouse sheltered some prepared to be critical as to the food supplied. They have been through their campaign of life, and now in their declining years appreciate good food. Perhaps something of this may have led the Governors of 1715 to rule that "Two of the Pensioners of the Hospital, in their several Turns, shall go daily to Market with the Manciple and chief Cook, to buy Provisions for the Diet of the Hospital, that choice may be made by them of that which shall be good and sweet, and to see ready Money paid for the same." It does not seem to have been entirely successful, as a further order, in 1722, commands that the pensioners "take thankfully what is provided for them without Muttering, Murmuring, or Grudging." It would be beyond probability to believe that such Muttering

was always unjustified, but the record of the administration of Charterhouse is probably a better one than that of most charities.

A few years after the foundation of Charterhouse there is recorded in the books of the hospital a curious suggestion of a reversion to the older monastic tendencies. In 1627 the Governors register an order that "hereafter, no womankind, deceased, shall be, by any means, buryed in the said chapel or burying place." But there is this difference, the gate of the old convent was firmly closed to all living womenkind, opening only to give Christian burial to the dead of the sex; the new Charterhouse, not so set against the living, was adamant against the dead.



LONDON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AS VIEWED FROM THE FIELDS TO THE NORTH OF CHARTERHOUSE.

From an etching by Wencelaus Hollar.

CHAPTER XVIII

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF CHARTERHOUSE

THE effect of the Great Rebellion on the Charterhouse was twofold. From outside, the domestic warfare gravely diminished its revenue, and from within many of the Governors, members of the "malignant party," resigned or were expelled. In their place entered Oliver Cromwell, Sir Harry Vane, Lenthall, Selden, Thurlowe, Fairfax, Essex, and others of the parliamentary party. But though, in a sense, usurpers, these did their duty by Charterhouse, and to safeguard it they petitioned Parliament to confirm the foundation under the Great Seal. Cromwell attended six meetings of the Governors, and after his retirement he placed his old colleagues in an awkward position by recommending as a pensioner a young man, described as a poor scholar, who did not strictly come within the scope of the charity. The Governors diplomatically took the occasion to compliment Oliver on the care and humanity he had shown as Governor, and expressed themselves ready to admit the young man, but protested that it was not to be made a precedent.

When the parliamentary troubles broke out there was seated in the schoolmaster's chair at Charterhouse one Robert Brooke, who did not fear to show which way his sympathies leaned by flogging boys who were rash enough to declare for the Parliament. This was the more noticeable because Brooke was otherwise a mild master. Richard Crashaw, one of his pupils, has left a Latin poem which opens with the acknowledgment of the kindness with which Brooke treated him. Such an avowed

partisan could not be left alone, so he was expelled. He lived to return to his old home, though not as schoolmaster. He was allotted a pension and given two rooms to the north of the cloister, which rooms have been ever since named after him. At a later time the partition between the two was removed, and the combined room, known as Brooke Hall, used for the daily dinners of the officers of the house.

The house which was the immediate neighbour of Charterhouse on the east, that is, the one retained by Lord North when he sold the property to Norfolk, and which afterwards passed to the Rutland family, was the scene of an interesting event in 1656. This was nothing less than the revival of the drama after its eclipse during the Puritan domination.

Sir William Davanant, through private influence, was able to obtain permission to give performances of a semi-public nature, which took place at Rutland House. However, the lordly character of the building did not prevent them charging five shillings for admission. The *première* was not a success, as only a hundred and fifty people came, though four hundred were expected.

The first play to be performed was the topical piece of " The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland House, by Declamations and Musick, after the manner of the Ancients by Sir W. D.," and it introduced arguments for the dramatic art, accompanied by instrumental music. The production which followed was more notable, and has been called the most epoch-making play in the language, though to name it thus is to concern ourselves more with the manner than with the matter of the representation. It gave clear signs that the drama which now came out of its prison was to go further in some respects than the old theatre. The play was entitled " The Siege of Rhodes made a Representation by the art of Prospective in Scenes and the Story sung in recitative

Musick." Apart from the fact that this was practically the first opera produced in England, the novelties were that scenery was employed for the first time in a play, as distinct from a masque, and that in the representation the first Englishwoman trod the English stage. So from this 22nd of November, 1656, came two influences which have had great development on the English stage. On one side the magnificent staging of a Tree play, or on the other, a Gaiety production, reach back for their origins to that night at Rutland House.

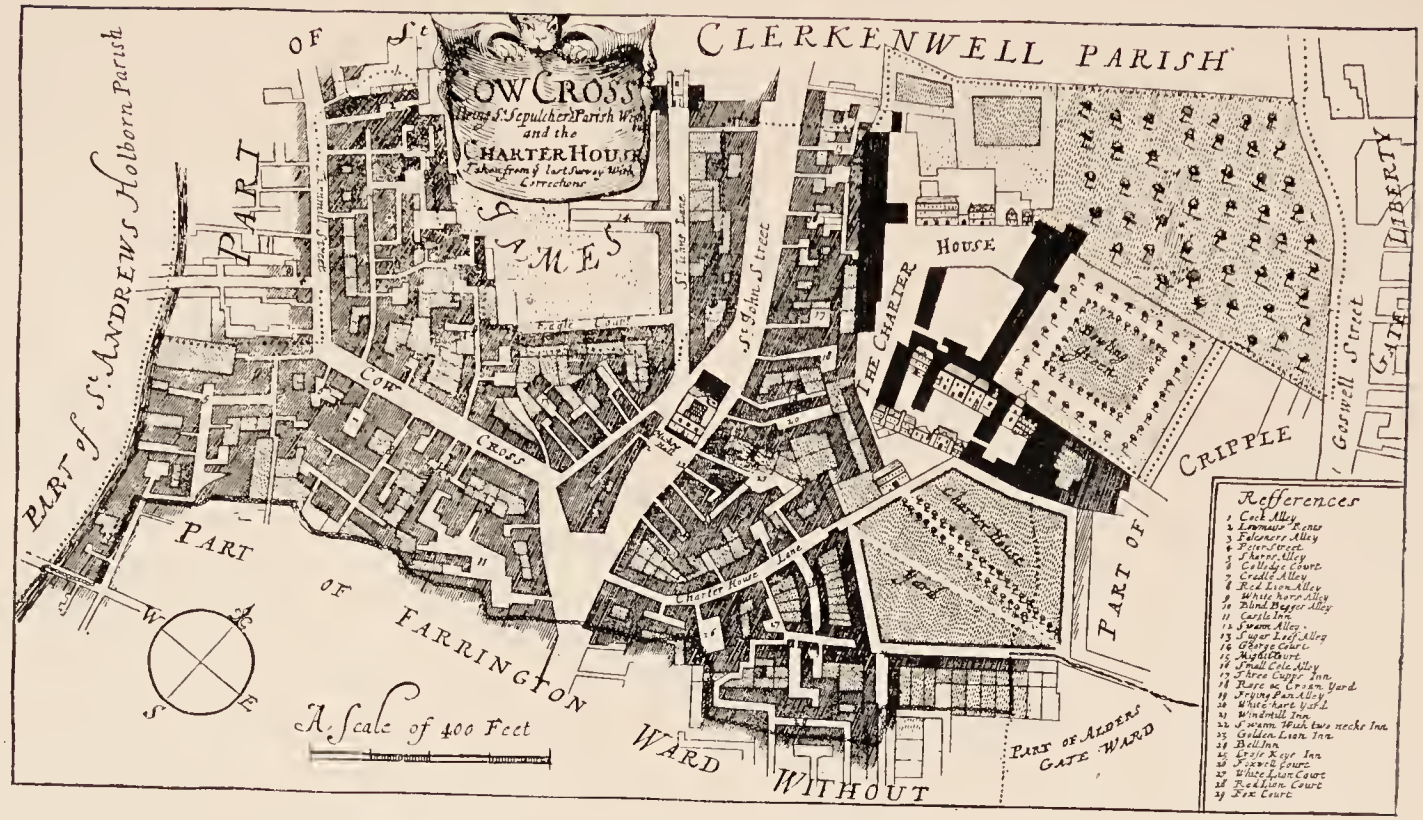
After the Restoration John Evelyn visited the Charterhouse, and he described it as "an old, neate, fresh, solitarie Colledge for decaied gentlemen. It has a grove, bowling-greene, garden, chapell, and a halle where they eat in common." The other great diarist of Restoration London, Samuel Pepys, does not appear to have honoured Charterhouse with his presence, not even for a service in the chapel. Pepys had a catholic taste in churches, but he perhaps liked better those where he might rely on a greater show of feminine beauty to ease his tedium if the sermon were not to his taste.

Speaking of the Charterhouse, Malcolm in his *Londinium Redivum* has said that "I here beg leave to add that, since the Restoration, scarcely an incident has arisen which could be detailed with any prospect of information or amusement." But Malcolm has surely overlooked the attempt of James the Second to force on the Governors' acceptance a pensioner who was a Catholic, and was therefore unable to take the oaths required of everyone on admission. This matter came up before a meeting attended by the unscrupulous Judge Jeffreys, present to get the king's wishes carried through. James's letter commanded that Popham be elected "notwithstanding any Statute, Order, or Constitution of or in the said Hospital: which we are graciously disposed to Dispense in this behalf." The Master of that time was

Thomas Burnet, a man of learning and character, and he dared to oppose the election. He claimed, what was indeed true, that to admit this man would be contrary to Act of Parliament, and to the wishes of the founder. Macaulay has described what followed: "'What is that to the purpose?' said a courtier who was one of the Governors. 'It is very much to the purpose, I think,' answered a voice, feeble with age and sorrow, yet not to be heard without respect by any assembly, the voice of the venerable Ormonde. 'An Act of Parliament,' continued the patriarch of the Cavalier party, 'is in my judgment no light thing.' The question was put whether Popham should be admitted, and it was determined to reject him. The Chancellor, who could not well ease himself by cursing and swearing at Ormonde, flung away in a rage, and was followed by some of the minority."

Once more the king sent his commands, this time under the Great Seal, but the Governors again replied that "wee apprehend ourselves to be soe tyed up and to lye under soe strict obligations that we are not at liberty to comply with what is required from us." There is little doubt that it was only the powerful position of Ormonde and some of the others who signed this letter that saved the Governors from further proceedings. James threatened actions in the King's Bench, or before the Ecclesiastical Commission, but the matter was allowed to drop gradually.

After this there is indeed little to record. As in the case of the old foundation, so for Sutton's Hospital, the main period of its existence is uneventful. There came to it in the declining years of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, as to many other old institutions, a period of stagnation. From this Slough of Despond Charterhouse was dragged, in the decade of the twenties, mainly by the efforts of the men who then held the offices of Preacher and Physician.



An Eighteenth-Century Map of Charterhouse and its Surroundings.

The former was William Hale Hale, to whom Charterhouse owes a deep debt. After serving as Preacher he became Master, a post which he held for thirty years, and the long period of his office brought many reforms. But he always opposed one change, though he lived to see it take place.

The problem that, in the mid-Victorian period, confronted those who cared for the future of Sutton's foundation was this. The rapid growth of London had cut off all immediate access to fields and country life, and the character of the building that had filled up the margin of the city on this side was not of the best. Though even as late as 1849 it was noted that many "respectable families" lived in Charterhouse Square,—perhaps kept there by the presence of the Charterhouse,—yet on the whole there was the inevitable feeling that this was not the site to which a good and careful parent would send his child to live as a boarder. Against any change were the strong sentiment binding one to the old buildings, and the poignant associations of the old men and the boys, living there together. The dual nature of Sutton's foundation appealed to many. But it is difficult to see how a first-class school could have found the boys who would live so close to the undesirable adjuncts of commercial London. To-day it is the overpowering ties of the Abbey which keep the Westminster boys in their old home, the only great school, other than those for day boys, to remain in London. So Archdeacon Hale lived to see the change take place, and the boys of Sutton's foundation leave the buildings where he remained as Master of a truncated Charterhouse.

The matter had come before the Public Schools Commission, and they had recommended a removal to the country in their report of 1864. A majority of ten to one of old Carthusians approved, and so a choice was made of an estate at Godalming, on which to build a school which

could grow far beyond the limits permitted in the old position. Here on a breezy height stands the modern Charterhouse School; it was opened in 1872, and it has quickly built up for itself a fine record, both scholastic and athletic. With this sudden rise is associated the name of Dr William Haig Brown, who had charge of the school during the critical time of its removal to Godalming, and its first years there.

Those stones of the old school on which many boys have cut their names have been taken to the country. The first sod of the work was cut on Founder's Day, and the central Tower is Founder's Tower. When the chapel was ready for consecration a date was chosen which revived the connections with the older foundation. The monastery of the Charterhouse had been dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, so the chapel of Charterhouse School was consecrated on Lady Day, 1874.

It is curious that instead of their narrow confines the Charterhouse boys should have now the widest and wildest rambling ground of any of the big schools.

Into the buildings which Sutton's boys had vacated came those of the Merchant Taylors' School. This was so strictly a day school that by its ancient statutes no boy was allowed to take a meal on the premises, and in its old site in Suffolk Street it was too cramped for its aspirations. It is another famous old school, and ranks among its scholars Edmund Spenser, Lancelot Andrews, Juxon, Clive, and Charles Matthews. By moving into its new quarters the number of boys could rise to five hundred, and the old cloister of the monks gave them what was, for a London school, a large open space. With the five hundred at Godalming and the five hundred of the Merchant Taylors' fully a thousand boys are now connected with the fruits of the wealth of Thomas Sutton.

In 1886 Charterhouse escaped a danger which threatened to destroy much of its interest, and this time the danger came from within. Owing to the shrinkage of its agricultural rents, and the heavy drain of the support of the large school, the Governors found themselves faced with a deficit on the revenue devoted to the support of the pensioners and the old buildings. They proposed to sell, as building land, four acres of their London site, and to devote a further part to a public park, and with the proceeds to remove the almshouse to the country. The old buildings were to be preserved. The proposal was embodied in a parliamentary bill, and this, introduced in the House of Lords, and approved there, was only finally thrown out by the Commons owing to the popular agitation, for once successful in retaining an old institution. It seems strange that it should have been a Radical House of Commons which preserved old laws, customs, and traditions against the opinion of the hereditary house.

Poor Brethren of Charterhouse

The list of those who lived under Thomas Sutton's bounty whilst fame was still before them forms a more distinguished roll than that of those who came there as a refuge after their work. Commanding names appear in the first and not in the latter case, and it is perhaps natural that this should be so. Indeed the name which first springs to the mind when one thinks of the Poor Brethren of Charterhouse is that of the living, though fictional, Colonel Newcome.

The original regulations as to the qualifications of a pensioner were not long in being relaxed in favour of a wider field, though "captains either by sea or land" continued to hold a foremost place in the intentions of the Governors, and it happens that the few names which can be recorded as worthy of note belong to the spheres of

literature and science. Elkanah Settle came to Charterhouse after a life spent among the wits of London, where he posed as a rival of the powerful John Dryden, though not a very successful one. He did reach the eminence of city laureate, a position which he owed more to political subservience than poetic power, but in later life he declined to poverty. Despite turning his hand to all sorts of literary hack work, he was glad to accept Sutton's bounty. After his death *The True Briton* described him as a man "who lived in the city and had a numerous poetical issue, but shared the misfortune of several gentlemen to survive them all."

It is probable that the dramatic piece performed on November the 6th, 1732, by the Charterhouse scholars, "In Memory of the Powder Plot," came from the pen of Settle, though it was not staged till after his death. This is, as may be imagined, a gross piece of anti-popery, and the end is the twin discomfiture of the Devil and the Pope, and the survival on the stage of the "First Jesuit," who then promptly undergoes a dramatic conversion, and bursts forth into a eulogy of England which would satiate the most stalwart patriot—

> "This wretched Church! The Villainies of Rome!
> O Albion, to thy blissful Seats I come.
> I seek for Reason, Truth and Liberty;
> Pearls from the Skies, they say, abound in Thee."

This play was acted for several successive Novembers in the Great Room, by permission of the Governors, but it then died a natural death.

The early decades of the eighteenth century made the Golden Age of the Poor Brothers of Charterhouse. Whilst Settle was of their number, there were also among them two other men of note. Stephen Gray, who died in 1732, was one of the earlier investigators of electricity. He continued his studies whilst in Charterhouse, as after his

admission there he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Priestly said that no student of electricity ever "had his heart more entirely in the work," but another writer says that his "character was very particular, and by no means amiable."

Zachariah Williams was a friend of Stephen Gray, and whilst they both lived in the Charterhouse they shared in their studies. Williams was a physician, and also interested in the force of electricity in its manifestation of magnetism. In his early life he had attempted to reach wealth by a similar channel to that of Thomas Sutton's, but his project to lease and work coal in Carmarthenshire came to nothing, as also did his many schemes and inventions. So he came to reside at Charterhouse in 1729, on the nomination of Sir Robert Walpole. By 1745 he had become bedridden, and was being nursed by his daughter Anna Williams. This daughter also assisted in the experiments of Stephen Gray, and she was the first to observe "the emission of the electric spark from a human body," and it was apparently in the Charterhouse that this event took place. Her father had many grievances against the officials, and he addressed memorials to the Governors on the subject, but they retaliated by accusing him, in his turn, of breaking the regulations. One of his offences was that his daughter was staying with him within the Hospital, and for this and other breaches he was expelled on the 19th of May, 1748. Zachariah Williams received, perhaps, fully strict justice, but his misfortune was the origin of a classic friendship. Anna Williams had then been blind for eight years, and in his distress her father wrote to Dr Johnson, and thus started the famous friendship between the Doctor and Miss Williams. For the rest of her life she was an inmate of the Doctor's house or his close companion. When they lived apart and she was in Bolt Court, it was Johnson's custom to drink tea with her every evening.

It was at this time that Boswell was so mortified when Goldsmith could show his superior intimacy with the great man by saying, "I go to Miss Williams." But later on Boswell was also admitted into the privileged circle, much to his delight.

Scholars of Charterhouse

There is seldom much to chronicle in the story of a school, and there is little to give of that of Charterhouse, save a list of those students who became famous, or to make an excursion into the deeds that they did after leaving their Alma Mater. There was one episode of a very gentlemanly mutiny of the boys when Dr Russell, headmaster at the beginning of the nineteenth century, attempted to banish the birch rod and set up in its place a system of money fines for scholastic offences. But he had counted without his boys, and these vastly preferred the bitter but honourable birch to any raid on their pocket money. They showed their will sufficiently strongly for the Doctor to realise that it was wise to retract, and to cover his retreat he gave the boys, even as they had asked, birch to their hearts' content, and it will probably be admitted that it was the boys who had the wiser sense of the methods for their own management.

The earliest scholar of Charterhouse who came to fame was Roger Williams, the founder of the State of Rhode Island in America. He was nominated to the foundation in 1621 by Sir Edward Coke. Two eminent lyrical poets follow in the list, Richard Crashaw and Richard Lovelace. Crashaw was a favourite of the master, Robert Brooke, and Richard acknowledged all "manner of obligations" to his old master. Crashaw only just missed (by his extraordinary inequality and lapses) being a great poet.

In Richard Lovelace the Charterhouse seems to have

CHARTERHOUSE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

From a print in Ackermann's "History of Charterhouse School."

bred a paragon. When he left the school to go to Oxford he was "accounted the most amiable and beautiful person that ever eye beheld." Two years after this he was, "at the request of a great lady belonging to the queen," made a master of arts, though then only eighteen, "at which time his conversation being made public, and consequently his ingenuity and generous soul discovered, he became as much admired by the male as before by the female sex." Both Richard and his younger brother, Thomas, were educated at Charterhouse, the latter being recommended to the Governors by King Charles on the ground that their father had served the king "about thirty years in the warres and left his lady rich only in great store of children." Richard Lovelace, after spending his fortune in the king's cause, died in a mean lodging in Shoe Lane, not so many yards from the school that he had left as a youth, the admired of all eyes.

The next great name of the school left with a very different reputation from that of Richard Lovelace. This was Isaac Barrow, the great divine and scholar in classics and mathematics, and he chiefly distinguished himself at Charterhouse by his fighting powers and his inclination to promote the appeal to fisticuffs among his fellows. His father expressed the pious wish that if God were pleased to take any of his children, he trusted it would be Isaac, as this was the one he could best spare. So little success did Charterhouse have with its scholar that he was removed to Felsted School, where he began to show more of his future promise. In after life he once proved he had not lost his physical power by almost strangling, with his bare hands, a mastiff that attacked him.

In the November of 1684 a boy of twelve years of age came to the Charterhouse as a scholar, appointed on the nomination of the Duke of Ormonde. Two years later came another boy who quickly became the idol of the

first comer. The boys were Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, and the friendship which started at Charterhouse lasted all their lives, and has become classical. It might have been hoped that two such boys would have carried away with them memories to be utilised in their later literary work, even as Thackeray was to do later on, but neither Addison nor Steele seem to have brought Charterhouse into their writings. Addison did indeed address a Latin poem of his college days to Dr Burnet, the master of Charterhouse, but that is apparently all.

John Wesley, born in the rectory of Epworth, a parish that had formerly contained a Carthusian monastery, came to the buildings of the London Charterhouse for his schooling. The boy had already given the impression of great firmness of character, and this power must have been strengthened by his experiences at school. The elder boys, it would seem, were in the custom of supplementing their fare by taking forcibly some of that allotted to the younger, and it is said that for five years Wesley got little but bread. It was an injunction of his father's that he should every morning run three times round the playground, this he invariably did, and he attributed his strength in after life largely to this regimen. The Rev. Mr Tyerman has to sum up sadly that " John Wesley entered the Charterhouse a saint and left it a sinner," but this is, perhaps, the conclusion of a religious precisian. Wesley himself wrote of this period afterwards that " Outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before, even of outward duties, and almost continually guilty of outward sins, which I knew to be such, though they were not scandalous in the eye of the world. However, I still read the Scriptures, and said my prayers morning and evening."

Whilst John was at Charterhouse mysterious and supernatural occurrences took place in his old home at Epworth, and the boy was much struck with the accounts

that were sent to him. He asked for more particulars of the doings of "Old Jeffrey," by which name the Wesley *poltergeist* was known. Indeed, but for John's presence at Charterhouse, we should not know so much about these manifestations as we do; his eager inquiries elicited full details from various members of his family.

A characteristic of the boy which pointed to him being the father of the man was that he was accustomed to gather younger boys round him and harangue them. This was marked by Andrew Tooke, who was then the usher of the school, and one day he broke in on John in the midst of an oration, commanded him to follow him to his study, and there asked for an explanation as to why he sought the company of the younger, instead of that of his equals in age. John's reply is reported to have been, "Better to rule in hell than to serve in heaven."

However hard his experiences at Charterhouse may have been, and however sinful, in his own estimation, his life there, Wesley cherished no ill feeling for the place, as it is said that he made a practice in after life of walking once a year through the courts of his old school.

When the list of famous old Carthusians is placed in chronological order there is often a curious pairing in the sequence. Crashaw and Lovelace, Addison and Steele, in both cases similarity of after life connects the couple. Then the next two names after Wesley, though they were not at school together, were both lawyers, Blackstone and Ellenborough, and they both became captains of the school. At a later period came together Thackeray and Leech, men with much in common.

Edward Law, who afterwards became Lord Ellenborough, was admitted a scholar on the 22nd of January, 1761. He was described as "a bluff burly boy, at once moody and good-natured, ever ready to inflict a blow or perform an exercise for his schoolfellows." It must be confessed that the less amiable side was the one which came to the fore in

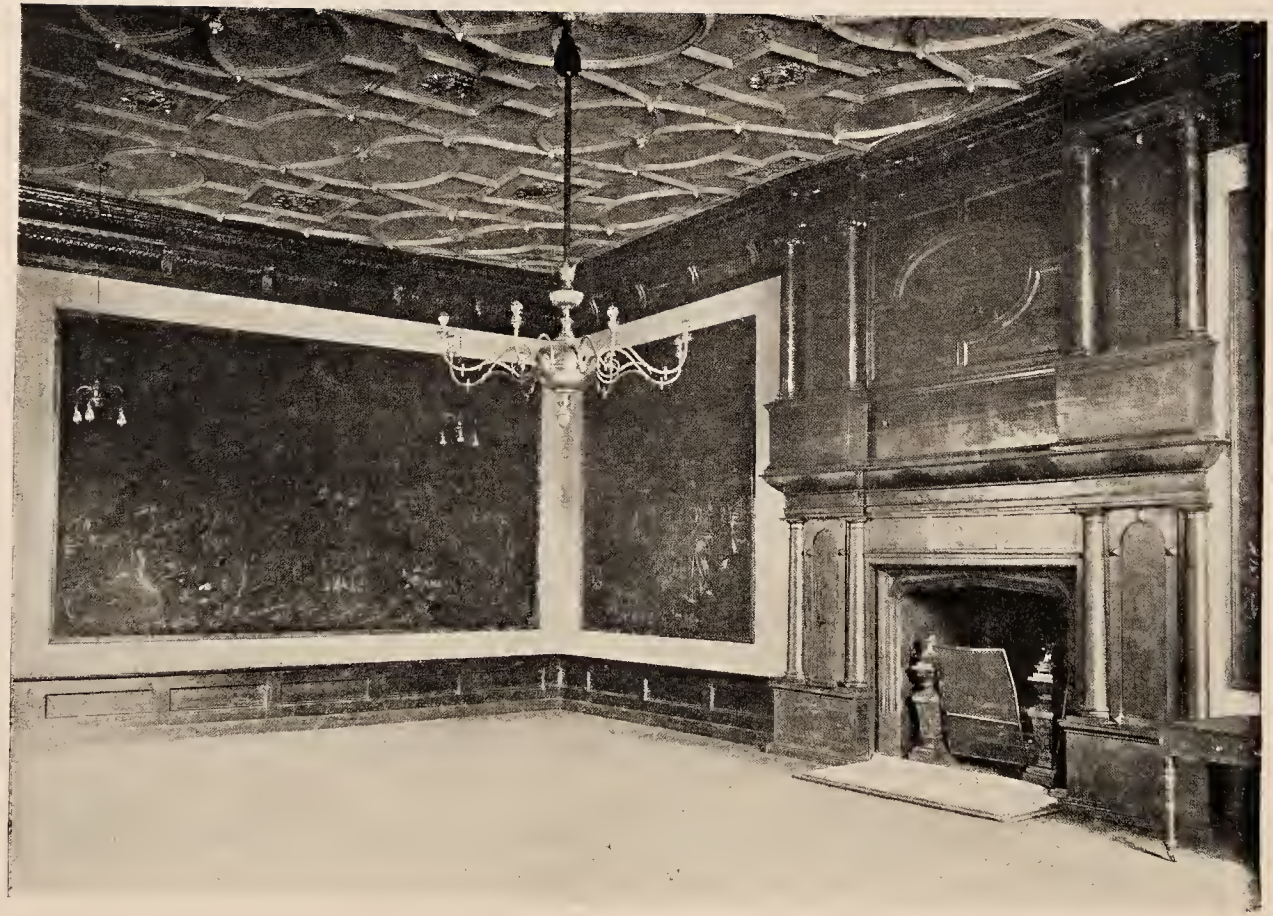
his public life. He declared that the criminal law could not be too severe, indeed he is responsible for a law which created ten new capital felonies. Still he had an affection for his old school, and by his request he now lies beside Thomas Sutton in the Founder's vault.

A son of the great Sarah Siddons came to Charterhouse, and when he left the Governors paid a fee to apprentice him as an actor to John Philip Kemble, to "learn the art of an actor or player." This was in 1792, and according to his biography it was not till 1801 that he made his first appearance; if this is so he served a longer apprenticeship than is sometimes considered necessary for the craft.

The soldiers' memorial in the cloister records some of the military Old Carthusians, and among these is Henry Havelock, the hero of Lucknow. Other names on the school roll are those of literary and artistic men; George Grote, Charles Eastlake, William Makepeace Thackeray, John Leech, F. T. Palgrave, and Richard Claverhouse Jebb.

Of John Leech the pretty story is told that his mother hired a room overlooking the Charterhouse playground so that she might watch her son at his play unknown to him. Leech's boyish friendship with Thackeray is perhaps exaggerated, as Thackeray was six years his senior, a hardly surpassable gap in school years.

Thackeray has well earned for himself the title of "The Carthusian of all Carthusians," for he has written often and lovingly of the old buildings and the life therein. But dearly though he loved to send his boy characters to Charterhouse for their schooling, yet he does not appear to have altogether liked what he received there himself. In his last year at school, when he had risen to be a monitor, Thackeray writes to his mother that though he is "terribly industrious," yet the headmaster does not share this opinion, but starts each day with the encouraging admonition of, "Thackeray, Thackeray,



THE STATE ROOM.

you are an idle, profligate rascal." The boy continues; "There are but 370 in the school, and I wish there were only 369." The wordy schoolmaster, in the opening chapters of "Pendennis," is probably modelled on the Head that Thackeray knew at Charterhouse.

Thackeray also carried away with him from Charterhouse a very lasting memorial of his time there in his broken nose, the gift of a schoolfellow, or rather of two, for after the first accident, and when the nose had satisfactorily healed, it was deliberately broken again by another boy.

But still for all this Thackeray grew very fond of the old place in his later life, and often used to return to the school, with his pockets bulging with tips for the boys; often too he attended the Founder's Day ceremony, coming for the last time only a few days before his death. For the purposes of his art, also, the novelist drew largely on his affection for the place, and this is particularly so in "The Newcomes." Thackeray apparently did not wish to go too close to the real name of the Charterhouse, though the veil is thin enough, and he has borrowed for his purposes the old title of the Blue Coat School. Charterhouse has become "Greyfriars." The name is altered but the picture is exact; the boys even are "Cistercians." But the nature of Thackeray's retrospective sentiment for his old school had undergone a marked and characteristic change. In his earlier references Charterhouse had been "Slaughterhouse," a much less kindly pseudonym. But as school-days receded they became more golden.

Thackeray's sentiment hated the necessity of bidding good-bye to his puppets when he had written Finis, and put that particular box-full away. So in "The Newcomes" we meet with old friends, or enemies, from "Vanity Fair" and "Pendennis," and at the end the writer puts a lingering hand in yours with the hope of

a future meeting. One cannot but think that save for Thackeray's untimely death the story of another generation would have come from his pen; another boy, perhaps the son of Clive and Ethel, would have gone to "Greyfriars."

In the earlier chapters of "The Newcomes" it is described how the gallant Colonel comes home from India, and sets out to seek his boy at Charterhouse.

"He dismissed his cab at Ludgate Hill, and walked thence by the dismal precincts of Newgate, and across the muddy pavement of Smithfield, on his way back to the old school where his son was, a way which he had trodden many a time in his own early days. There was Cistercian Street, and the 'Red Cow' of his youth; there was the quaint old Grey Friars Square, with its blackened trees and garden, surrounded by ancient houses of the build of the last century, now slumbering like pensioners in the sunshine.

"Under the great archway of the hospital he could look at the old Gothic building; and a black-gowned pensioner or two crawling over the quiet square, or passing from one dark arch to another. The boarding-houses of the school were situated in the square, hard by the more ancient buildings of the hospital. A great noise of shouting, crying, clapping forms and cupboards, treble voices, bass voices, poured out of the schoolboys' windows; their life, bustle, and gaiety contrasted strangely with the quiet of those old men, creeping along in their black gowns under the ancient arches yonder, whose struggle of life was over, whose hope and noise and bustle had sunk into that grey calm."

The "Red Cow" that Thackeray refers to—perhaps it had attracted his own patronage in his school days—is still there in such pleasing proximity to Charterhouse, but so distressfully modernised that it feels itself called upon to draw attention to its years by the inscription

Tomb of Thomas Sutton.

that it is "Ye Old Red Cow." Towards the end of the Colonel's life, when his mind is giving way under the terrible ministrations of the Campaigner, he refers to the place: "'Do you know, sir, when I was a boy I used what they call to tib out and run down to a public-house in Cistercian Lane—"The Red Cow," sir,—and buy rum there? I was a terribly wild boy, Clivy.'"

The description which Thackeray gives of the Founder's Day celebrations, an event in which he often took part himself, is so perfect that it must be quoted once more here.

"The custom of the school is, that on the 12th of December, the Founder's Day, the head gown-boy shall recite a Latin oration, in praise Fundatoris Nostri, and upon other subjects; and a goodly company of old Cistercians is generally brought together to attend this oration: after which we go to chapel and hear a sermon; after which we adjourn to a great dinner, where old condisciples meet, old toasts are given, and speeches are made. Before marching from the oration-hall to chapel, the stewards of the day's dinner, according to old-fashioned rite, have wands put into their hands, walk to church at the head of the procession, and sit there in places of honour. The boys are already in their seats, with smug fresh faces, and shining white collars; the old black-gowned pensioners are on their benches; the chapel is lighted, and Founder's Tomb, with its grotesque carvings, monsters, heraldries, darkles and shines with the most wonderful shadows and lights. There he lies, Fundator Noster, in his ruff and gown, awaiting the great Examination Day. We oldsters, be we ever so old, became boys again as we look at that familiar old tomb, and think how the seats are altered since we were here, and how the doctor—not the present doctor, the doctor of our time—used to sit yonder, and his awful eye used to frighten us shuddering boys, on

whom it lighted; and how the boy next us would kick our shins during service time, and how the monitor would cane us afterwards because our shins were kicked. Yonder sit forty cherry-cheeked boys, thinking about home and holidays to-morrow. Yonder sit some three-score old gentlemen pensioners of the hospital, listening to the prayers and the psalms. You hear them coughing feebly in the twilight—the old reverend black-gowns. Is Codd Ajax alive, you wonder?—the Cistercian lads called these old gentlemen Codds, I know not wherefore—I know not wherefore—but is old Codd Ajax alive I wonder? or Codd Soldier? or kind old Codd Gentleman, or has the grave closed over them? A plenty of candles lights up this chapel, and this scene of age and youth, and early memories, and pompous death. How solemn the well-remembered prayers are, here uttered again in the place where in childhood we used to hear them! How beautiful and decorous the rite; how noble the ancient words of the supplications which the priest utters, and to which generations of fresh children, and troops of bygone seniors have cried Amen under those arches! The service for Founder's Day is a special one; one of the psalms selected being the thirty-seventh, and we hear—

"23. The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his way.

"24. Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.

"25. I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.

"As we came to this verse, I chanced to look up from my book towards the swarm of black-coated pensioners: and amongst them—amongst them—sat Thomas Newcome."

When Thackeray was writing "The Newcomes" he

often came to Charterhouse, and at that time he got to know one of the pensioners, Captain Thomas Light. An inscription on a wall marks the window of the room where the novelist visited the Captain. Perhaps the most famous death scene in fiction is the death of Colonel Newcome, and in this Thackeray makes use of the custom that the bell for evening service should tell, by the number of its strokes, the exact roll of those pensioners who are living in the Hospital at that time. "At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat a—time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said 'Adsum,' and fell back. It was the word we used at school, when names were called; and lo, he, whose heart was as a little child, had answered to his name, and stood in the presence of The Master."

CHAPTER XIX

CHARTERHOUSE TO-DAY

THERE is no more pleasantly startling change for the London wayfarer than that from the unrelieved commercialism of Aldersgate Street, or the blood-stained filth of Smithfield, to the quiet and the pleasant trees of Charterhouse Square. It is true that there have been sad invasions of warehouses and a regrettable hotel, but the trees are still there, and around are the old walls of Charterhouse, and a few "ancient houses of the build of the last century" (now the one before the last), "now slumbering like pensioners in the sunshine."

The square is, as near as can be ascertained, the centre of the New Churche Hawe where the plague burials took place. Malcolm says: (1808) "Many bones have been found in digging to lay drains in the square, and the Rev. Mr Auditor Hargrave informs me that very recently he had occasion to dig about ten feet below the surface in the front of his house, on the west side, when the bones of many young persons, who had been buried without any regularity, were discovered." But not only the present square but the whole of the Charterhouse property, right through to Clerkenwell Road, was probably used for plague burials.

On the north side of the square are the buildings of Charterhouse. The main archway of the present entrance is undoubtedly that of the old monastery. In the fifteenth-century plan it is shown surmounted by a half timbered upper storey with a gable. This upper story passed through various changes, and the present building dates

CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE.

"With its blackened trees and garden, surrounded by ancient houses of the build of the last century, now slumbering like pensioners in the sunshine" (Thackeray).

from the early eighteenth century. The hood above the main arch supported by lions is perhaps an addition of North's or Norfolk's, and the little postern was added in the nineteenth century. It was probably above the main archway that the arm of Houghton was nailed after his execution.

Once inside the gate we are facing the buildings which in monastic times were devoted to the more secular purposes of the convent. To the right is the outside of the Little Cloister and to the left the domestic section, access being gained to these by another archway, which is of brick and probably of monastic date. To reach the Little Cloister there is an archway in the south side of that square. In the Little Cloister centred all the hospitality of the Carthusians and the secular contact with them. The guests were lodged in apartments in the east and south wings of the cloister, and in the centre of the north side was the hall in which they dined. Compared with that of other monastic bodies the hospitality given by the Carthusians was small. Those who visited them were perforce vegetarians, as meat was not allowed to enter the gates even for guests. It is possible that this square for hospitality was built on its present scale some little time after the foundation, as the " Parvum Claustrum " of the monastic plan is, even allowing for inaccurate drawing, not sufficiently large to represent the present structure. Perhaps the present buildings were built by North, but possibly the core of the wall, now hidden by brickwork, is of considerably earlier, and monastic date. The south-east corner is now the house of the master. The great hall was altered by Norfolk to make the principal room of his palace, and this position it has since retained. A passage to the west leads from Little Cloister to that court which of all Charterhouse most retains the character of the monastery. Probably as it exists to-day, it is almost entirely the work of the last

few years of the Carthusians' rule. Originally intended mainly for the domestic offices of the community, it has retained this character until now. Any member of John Houghton's community, if transported to the court, would instantly recognise where he was. It is now called Wash-house Court; in the nineteenth century certain poplar trees grew there and it was then called Poplar Court, but the name has reverted to the older title. The exterior of Wash-house Court, reached through a charming passage with stone arches at each end, shows most interesting, and perhaps puzzling, features. In the lower part appears a bricked up wide and low arch. This has been ridiculously surmised by some to be the entrance to a vault, perhaps the grave of John Houghton. The most probable solution is that it is the arch through which the poor received their gifts of food from the monks. Above this arch and somewhat to the left appear the letters I.H., marked out in bricks of a different colour. These are, perhaps, the initials of John Houghton, inserted here in the work built during his priorate. The outside of Wash-house Court makes a notably medieval picture with its small windows and high chimneys.

To return to the Little Cloister. Probably the entrance into the more sacred quadrangle of the Great Cloister was by a passage on the east of the great hall. The great staircase is now here, but originally the space was open, as is shown by a skeleton found lying in a due east and west position. The connection with the Great Cloister is now interrupted owing to the fact that the site of this has passed into the hands of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and is used as the playground for their school, but those buildings on the south side of the quadrangle in which the corporate life of the Carthusian monastery centred continue in the occupation of Sutton's foundation, and they can all be traced in the modified buildings of

THE "CLOISTER."

to-day. Almost in the centre of the south side was the chapel. This is reached to-day through a so-called "Cloister," the south side of which is an open Jacobean arcade, which has been glazed comparatively recently. The door which gives access to the chapel has been decorated by Sutton's executors, and the most conspicuous features of the chapel itself are also the work of these gentlemen. The south aisle was the choir in which the Carthusian monks worshipped, and in which Houghton's inspiration prepared them for martyrdom. The south wall is very much in its original condition. It is suggested by Mr Wardle that the space under the tower, where the font now is, may have been where two private altars were placed; the portion of the church where the lay brothers worshipped would then have lain further west and occupied part of what is now the modern "cloister." Mr Wardle also says that it is possible that the only opening from the chapel of the fathers to that of the brothers was by a door of no greater opening than the one which exists to-day. This is however uncertain. It is possible that the lower storey of the tower formed part of the brothers' chapel, which extended westwards past the position of the present wall. The upper storey of the tower is an interesting room, and perhaps it may have been an extra chapel. It is now used as the carefully guarded Muniment Room of the Charterhouse. It is possible it may have been the "treasure-house above a little turning stair in your sextry," where the Bishop of Bangor's silver spoons in a "case of ledder" were put for safe keeping. Dom Hendriks, however, makes the suggestion that it may have been the gallery for visitors, who were able to look down into the chapel through slits in the wall which are now closed.

North of the tower was the sacristry, and north of the choir was the "locutorium," the space allotted for the monks to meet and converse at the rare intervals when

this was allowed. Sutton's executors having a larger body of worshippers to accommodate, took down the wall between the choir and the "locutorium" and replaced it with the present Jacobean arcade. The further addition on the north, to find room for the increasing numbers of boys, is a much later and totally uninteresting building.

To the east of the 'locutorium,' which is now the north aisle of the chapel, was the entrance to the Chapter House, and on the outside wall, facing the great Cloister, was the "lavatorium." This is shown on the monastic plan to have been a beautiful piece of medieval work. The upper part was probably an ornamental cistern of lead with a row of taps below, and a stone basin, the whole being covered in with a canopy of stone.

The shape of the great cloister, composed, on all sides except the south, of the individual cells of the fathers, is exactly preserved to-day by the square playing ground of the Merchant Taylors' boys. There are indeed small fragments of the actual monastic masonry left on the east side and more obviously on the west. The fragment of covered walk known to-day as the Cloister is of course modern to the outside view, but the inner wall is a part of the inclosure of three of the old cells, the doors into which still remain together with one of the hatches through which food was handed.

There remains to be examined the group of buildings at the south-east corner of the great cloister, which buildings formed the social centre, such as it was, of the Carthusian convent, and served a similar purpose, intensified with greater revelry, in the Elizabethan palace. The great hall looking on to the Little Cloister was perhaps the guest chamber of the monastery; it still keeps almost exactly the form into which North and Norfolk altered it. Mr Wardle thinks that the real roof is not much later than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is of the type of that of Westminster Hall, but there are

alterations of a later period. The windows are later, perhaps inserted in the last years of the monastery or else by North. But the great features of the hall are due to the Duke of Norfolk. He added the magnificent screen and the curious gallery along the north wall. The work on these is admirable and of a more severe and classic taste than is often seen in the work of the period. After the break-up of the medieval tradition the craftsman, with his sheet anchor lost, drifted away at the mercy of all the winds of heaven. His imagination and tradition vanished, he trusted to the books of patterns issued for his use. When England grew definitely Protestant the connection with Italian Art, as well as religion, was impaired, and our ancestors came under the influence of the stogid and unimaginative work of the Flemings and Germans. Many of the typical great hall screens of this period were even made by imported workmen.

Norfolk's work is very much better than the terribly heavy and crude fireplace inserted by Sutton's executors. Probably before this time the hall was heated by a central brazier. It has been said that Charterhouse has always been generous with its coals, in this perhaps remembering the source of its founder's wealth.

Several of the doorways opening out of the great hall show details of interest. Mr Wardle talks of those that give entrance to the buttery from under the music gallery as being Holbeinesque in character. The great oriel window may date from the old monastery or just after its dissolution. In one of the sections of this are a few fragments of old glass.

Immediately to the north of the great hall is a room which is now used as the brothers' library, and which formerly was the dining hall for the boys of Sutton's foundation. It is probable that the Prior's cell was originally on this site, with the fratry or dining hall of the monks close by. But at some time in the fifteenth

century the monks enlarged the fratry by building the present room, and gave the Prior new rooms above this.

The door on the dais of the great hall leads to the foot of the main staircase, which is typical in style of the Elizabethan palace. The details of the carving belong to the same period of doubtful design. Sutton's executors added the greyhounds. On the landing above, two doorways on the left and one on the right are of fifteenth-century type, and suggest that though the present staircase is Elizabethan yet an earlier one may have existed here. The second door on the left leads to what were, according to Mr Wardle, the Prior's apartments, altered into the state-rooms of North and Norfolk. At the present time the doorway opens direct into a passage, which passage has been partitioned off from what appears in a plan of the buildings of the date when Sutton bought them as the Outward Chamber. The remaining portion of this room now serves as a library, and passing through this the Great Chamber is reached. This is to-day the most perfect specimen to be found in London of the state-room of an Elizabethan nobleman. The decorations have been restored, of course, but it remains almost as it was when James the First held his court there. It has besides an extraordinary record of the great men who have known it, and one woman, Queen Elizabeth. To her court here must have come many people of note. It was used as the room for the Governors of Sutton's hospital until about 1754. Here came Oliver Cromwell and many others of the Puritan party. Here it was that bloody Jeffreys came to compel his master's will on the reluctant Governors. The boys Addison, Steel, Wesley, and others must have known it.

The chimney piece is a piece of wood work elaborately painted. Probably it was one of the additions of the Duke of Norfolk, as it has worked into it various armorial bearings of the Howard family. But the whole was

repaired in 1626 by one Rowland Buckett, "a limner," and it is possible that some of the incidents depicted are due to him. To this time certainly must be attributed the arms of Charles the First and Thomas Sutton. A further repair took place in 1838, when the heraldic designs on the fireplace and roof were newly painted and gilt, and the tapestries set up afresh on the walls. Originally this room had a great oriel window at the north-west corner, but additions in the early nineteenth century blocked this light, when a new window at the west end was opened up.

That part of the present Charterhouse where the pensioners live was built about 1825 after the designs of Blore. The buildings used by the school, none of them of any great interest, were swept away to make room for the buildings of the Merchant Taylors' School.

Such are the buildings of Charterhouse to-day, and as we view the spot, many memories are about it. First the dreadful horrors of the plague burials. Then the builders at work on the Carthusian monastery, and the arrival of the monks. Later comes the funeral pomp of Sir Walter de Manny, with King Edward and an array of nobles, a pageant of chivalry and the medieval church. A hundred and sixty years pass, and we come to John Houghton and his community. John Houghton leaves the Charterhouse a prisoner, and soon come the men bringing with them his severed arm, to nail it above the gateway, there to hang as a sign of a new world. Thomas Cromwell comes often, and once, perhaps, King Henry. The monks leave, and the place is plundered.

A different scene opens with the secular bustle of Sir Edward North's palace. Instead of the monks, silently greeting each other as they pass, men come to the cloister to play bowls. Then Elizabeth comes, thoughtful, perhaps, but little dreaming of the tremendous place the years of her reign would take in England's history.

Norfolk, with his splendour of outward life, makes the Charterhouse a magnificent scene of pageantry, but Ridolfi comes by night, and the duke's shallow sincerity cannot protect him from a traitor's death. Once more a sovereign comes, though not a dignified one, then forty years later, Oliver Cromwell, the conqueror of that royal race. Then we remember most those boys with fame before them, Addison and Steele, or Wesley preaching to the younger ones. Lastly, we think of Thackeray, the genial giant, at Founders' Day service in the chapel, a few days before he died, looking at the pews before him, and seeing there an immortal figure—the vision of the old soldier-pensioner which he himself has placed there.

THE END.

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